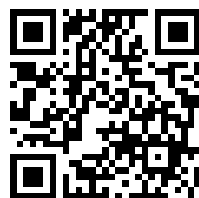


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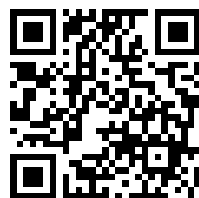


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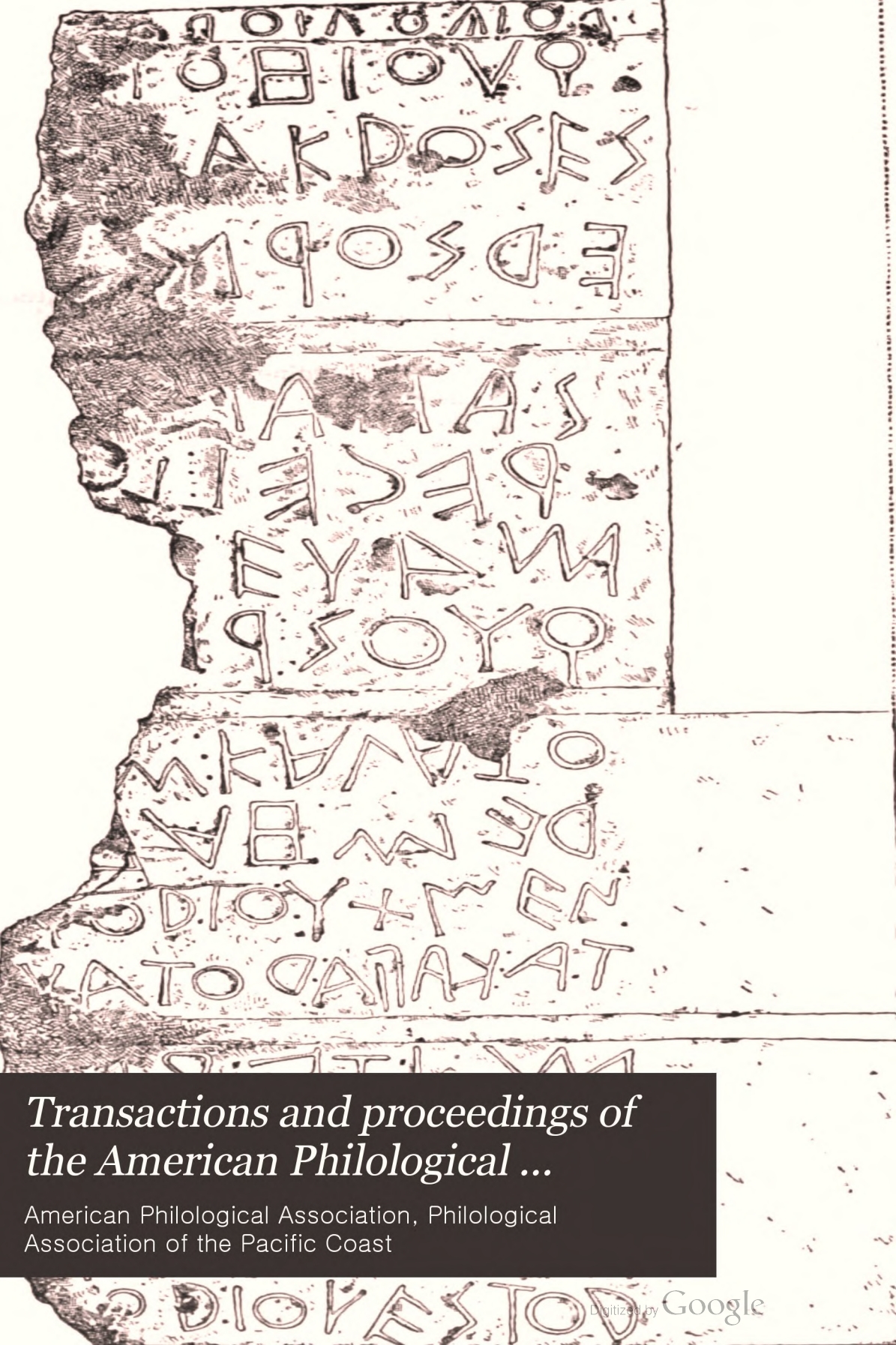
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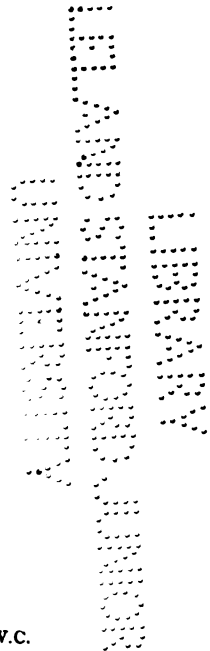
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TRANSACTIONS  
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1901.

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I. — *The Causes of Uniformity in Phonetic Change.*

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THE war over the laws of sound belongs distinctively to the decade between 1876 and 1886. It began with the publication of Leskien's *Declination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen* (1876), which proposed and maintained for the treatment of the case-forms the one unbending principle: "Diese Formen nehmen ausnahmslos die Gestalt an, welche die Wirkung der Lautgesetze . . . hervorbringen muss." "Ausnahmslos" and "muss" became the gage of battle. Brugmann's introduction to the first volume of the *Morphologische Untersuchungen* (1878) was commonly interpreted as formulating a programme militant and especially with the help of Zarncke's light-winged appellation "*Junggrammatiker*," accepted with quotation marks by Brugmann, and the rather unwelcome genealogical tables afforded by Ziemer in his *Junggrammatische Streifzüge*, served to set the battle in order. Paul in his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (1st edit. 1880; cf. Chap. III) supplied the new ardor with a philosophy, — we might almost say the new gospel with a theology. Sievers with his *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie* (1876 and 1881) placed carnal weapons in the hands of the insurrectos. Hostile criticism enough appeared. On the whole it was Prussia that appeared in array against Middle Germany, but



the sharpest blows were struck from Austria and America by Hugo Schuchardt in his tractate *Ueber die Lautgesetze ; gegen die Junggrammatiker* (1885), and by F. B. Tarbell who chose smooth stones from the brook and wrote on *Phonetic Law* in the Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc., vol. XVII (1886). The latter writing has been until recently little noted and never answered.

The strife came to its climax of energy in 1885 with G. Curtius's book *Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung* (1885), with the replies contained in Delbrück's *Die neueste Sprachforschung* (1885) and Brugmann's *Zum heutigen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft* (1885), and with the various reviews and *Besprechungen* which swarmed about the three books. Since 1886 there has settled down upon the battle-field the quiet of weariness, though not of conviction. Occasional guerilla outbursts alone disturb the peace.

Fourteen years have now passed since the armistice began, and so far as we can note, the influence of time upon the doctrine of the *Ausnahmslosigkeit* bears this general result : the theory has weakened ; the practice has strengthened. The dogma has gone over into life, but has itself as such fallen into disfavor. Few herald it in the abstract ; few disregard it in the concrete. It is to be noticed that in general the expression "*die Konsequenz der Lautgesetze*" or "Uniformity of phonetic laws" has taken the place of the bald, belligerent "*Ausnahmslosigkeit*," and that the fuller recognition of language as a social rather than a natural product and mechanism has brought gradually with it a clearer appreciation of the laws as social compromises rather than physical necessities. So much have time and larger experience wrought, but whether or not a new theory of the facts has arisen to replace the old and to furnish some adequate conception of the causes underlying such uniformity as scientific practice actually assumes to exist, of that little or nothing is heard. No new theory is advanced, and the old scarcely finds new defence. The work of Wechssler, *Giebt es Lautgesetze ?* which has just appeared as part of the *Festgabe für Hermann Suchier* (1900), constitutes perhaps the one exception ; but in



this, despite its admirable preparatory summary of the factors of speech-life involved in the problem, and of the history of the discussion, we miss, when it comes to the point, any precise statement of grounds which compel a belief in the theory of uniformity. We leave the book with the impression that if the laws of sound do work to uniformity, there are abundant reasons why this should not seem strange,—but nothing more. The nearest approach to an absolute vindication is found at the conclusion of § 8 (p. 122), which discusses sound-change in a language as the result of the adoption of that language among a people originally speaking another tongue with a different “basis of articulation.” Here, it is argued, the phonetic changes are general, not individual; each one of the members of a speech-community transplants directly his inherited system of sounds into the new language without waiting to be influenced by imitation of his neighbor. The foreign system of sounds affects therefore the entire body of the acquired language in all its stock of words and forms simultaneously. The possibility of exceptions is therefore precluded. Hence the conclusion: “Alle durch Veränderung der Articulationbasis bewirkten phonetischen Veränderungen, der sogenannte ‘spontane oder unbedingte Lautwandel,’ sind ausnahmslos.”

While it is the merit of the point of view involved in this argument that it brings into the foreground of attention a factor of undoubtedly prime importance in the initiation of sound-changes, it is its fatal weakness that it confuses the impulse toward change with the completed result. There are those who have sought to identify the causes of sound-change in a change of the speech-organs due to climatic surroundings, or have connected the tendency toward sounds of a certain character with physiological peculiarities of race. Such views have been expressed by Pott,<sup>1</sup> Kauffmann,<sup>2</sup> Rousselot,<sup>3</sup> Wundt,<sup>4</sup> and by Osthoff in an earlier statement (*Das physiologische und psychologische Moment der sprachlichen Formenbildungen*,

<sup>1</sup> *Etymol. Forschungen*,<sup>2</sup> II, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. der schwäbischen Mundart*, p. xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Modifications phonétiques*, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> *Völkerpsychologie*, Vol. I, *Die Sprache*, 397 ff. (1900).



p. 19 ff. 1879), long since disclaimed by him. That such considerations lie hopelessly remote from any present range of scientific use, every one who has dealt with phonology widely and accurately knows beyond question. And yet the fallacy involved in Wechssler's suggestion is, though somewhat more insidious, of precisely the same order. Climate, physiological peculiarities, or differences of the "basis of articulation" may well give the push toward individual and single divergences of pronunciation, but whether these result in the establishment of a phonetic law belongs in the control of an entirely distinct system of factors, for that is a question of social assertion, — of social predominance. All language-change is held in stern check by the necessity of intelligibility throughout the speech-community.

To return now to the line of discussion from which the allusion to Wechssler's work has diverted us, it may fairly be said that no new theory of the causes underlying phonetic uniformity has been stated since Paul's publication of his *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* (1880); the second and third editions (1886 and 1898) of the work offer no modifications that can be called fundamental. Paul's theory has dominated the horizon so thoroughly that it has come to be regarded as practically identical with the doctrine of uniformity; at least it has either seemed so satisfactory as to discourage any other attempts at tracing and formulating causes, or else has seemed so intangible and indemonstrable as to discourage any further attempts from the *a priori* side. The science has placidly resigned itself to the admission that the doctrine is at best a mere "dogma," though it may, to be sure, suggest a safe rule for ordinary procedure.

Justifiable as this attitude may be, it must be remembered, however, that the failure of the deductive argument to offer complete proof does not by any means excuse us from further inquiry into the nature of the causes that produce such uniformity as is actually known to exist. We shall not be content permanently to regard this uniformity as a plain miracle.

According to Paul, sound-changes have their origin in unconscious individual deviations or mis-hits of pronunciation.



All of these deviations tend through the motor sensations in the speaker and the sense of sound in the hearer toward the gradual modification of the psychic memory-pictures, which, as the storage-form of language, are the resultants or compromises from an indefinite number of experiences both of speaking and of hearing. They are the resultants not of individual experiences solely, but of community experiences, because the hearing has received an indefinite number of impressions from individual speakers in the community themselves speaking in resultants, and the speaking has been held to the continual test of intelligibility amidst a community of hearers. The process of first acquiring language in childhood represents a constant correction of the sensation of movement in the speech-organs to match the sound-picture obtained through hearing until control of the organs is secured, and it is the continuation of this process in subtler form in later years that constantly forces the individual speech as the only real speech toward complete solution in the community speech, as an ideal norm. So much for the consistency between the languages of individuals; how now do these considerations affect the problem of consistency inside the language of the individual? How does it happen that a given change of a given sound in one word should appear attended by the same change of the like-conditioned sound wherever it occurs throughout the entire word-material of the language? With Paul the answer is an apparently direct deduction from his characterization of the motor-sensations. The production of a sound is a direct reflection of the motor-image. There is no other way of producing it. It has no other possible existence. For the formation and production of that particular sound, no matter in what word or connection it occurs, there is no other resource. This motor-image which has unconsciously been given shape, has received its shape and suffered its modifications without reference to the words in which it occurs. Consequently,—and here I quote the two sentences in which I believe the ultimate fallacy of Paul's theory comes to the surface: "The motor-sensation does not take shape for each word singly, but, on the contrary, wher-



ever in the language like elements recur, their production is regulated by the like motor-sensation. In case therefore the motor-sensation is modified through the pronunciation of an element in any given word, then the modification asserts itself for the same element in another word.”<sup>1</sup> To Paul’s mind, therefore, phonetic change is due to a gradual, insensible shifting of the memory-image, and this shifting, like a slowly rising irresistible tide, makes itself felt in equal measure and at an even level wherever it has access, *i.e.* throughout the entire like-conditioned material of the speech of a community. This position involves two characteristic assumptions: 1st, that a complete phonetic change, as from *e* to *i*, is reached through gradual changes which pass by an indefinite number of intervening points in the series  $e - e_1 - e_2 - e_3 \dots i_3 - i_2 - i_1 - i$ ; 2d, that the different occurrences of the same sound-element in different words are bound together hard and fast by the one memory-image.

Against these assumptions is directed the criticism of Tarbell in the article mentioned above. “But what proof,” he says, “is there that the connection between different words containing the same ‘element’ is so intimate and compulsory as Paul would have us believe? So far as I can discover, the assertion of such a connection is mere unsupported assumption, nor do I see how it can be reconciled with the most familiar facts.” Taking, then, as illustration, the uneven distribution of the peculiar New England shortened *o* of *throat*, *stone*, in individual vocabularies, the writer expresses strong inclination to the belief that the phonetic changes really progress from word to word. Tarbell’s article appeared in 1886. In 1894 William D. Whitney, in an article published in the *Indogerm. Forschungen*, IV, 32 ff., recurs to Tarbell’s illustration and its lessons, and proceeding to add fuller observations concerning this and other matters from

<sup>1</sup> *Principien*,<sup>8</sup> 63: Das Bewegungsgefühl bildet sich ja nicht für jedes einzelne Wort besonders, sondern überall, wo in der Rede die gleichen Elemente wiederkehren, wird ihre Erzeugung auch durch das gleiche Bewegungsgefühl geregelt. Verschiebt sich daher das Bewegungsgefühl durch das Aussprechen eines Elementes in irgend einem Worte, so ist diese Verschiebung auch massgebend für das nämliche Element in einem anderen Worte.



his "own native and unchastened pronunciation," concludes in agreement with Tarbell that, in a class of phonetically similar words, one or a few may change without carrying the rest with them; in short, that "phonetic change is not invariable here, but honey-combed with inconsistencies and anomalies, while yet doubtless the leading tendencies are working themselves out to ultimate uniformity." The observations made tend to show, he believes, "that in this living language, at any rate, vowel mutations are not at present effecting themselves with an all-involving sweep, but partially and by gradual extension."

It might easily be possible to take exception in detail to the case as Professor Whitney presented it. The occurrence of shortened *o* is, for instance, far more self-consistent in my own native New-England dialect than in his as he reports it. So it is in Professor Sheldon's dialect as he reported it in the *Proceedings of the Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 1883, pp. xix-xx. It may, indeed, be questioned whether Professor Whitney's case is not in reality a representation of the reëstablishment of the *ō* of the standard language by the process usually stamped as "dialect mixture." So at least I interpreted it myself on first reading the article. Still, the fact remains that here is a case of an actual living language, and one that appeals to us as corresponding in the main to our own experience of our own speech and all our observation of living language. In order to save our dogma of uniformity shall we utterly abandon all consideration of languages as we know them in life, and relegate them to the category of hopeless "mixtures" as a peculiar product of our hopelessly expansive and conglomerating modern life? Or shall we face the living facts and admit that mixture is now and presumably always has been the *real thing*,<sup>1</sup>—only that present-day conditions may oftenest present this mixture in the cruder and more violent form?

<sup>1</sup> A general review, indeed, of the broad facts of language-history leads toward the conviction that mixture in one form or another has provided the commonest occasion for the incipience of those phonetic changes which are ultimately summarized and enrolled under the phonetic laws. We are thinking here, not only



It stirs suspicion when we note that adherence to Paul's theory of the causes of uniformity has compelled the drawing of a sharp line of distinction between the processes that make for solidarity within the individual or community speech from those that make for solidarity within the standard speech-uniting communities. No such line can in reality be found. It has always been at best an imaginary line. All the observed facts of speech point to the conclusion that the same processes which in the large tend toward unifying community dialects into national languages are active in the small toward binding individual languages into the community language.

The spreading or sifting down of a sound from a national standard language into a dialect is easier to trace than the spreading of a sound downward from the narrower community idiom to the ultimate occupation of every individual tongue, but there is no level at which we can draw the line and assert that the nature of the processes is suddenly reversed. Nothing shows this better than all the fruitless efforts to establish a contrast between dialect and language,

of dialect-mixture, but of that type of mixture whereby a language extended beyond its natural frontiers accepts something of the phonetic character of the language it displaces. Cf. Ascoli, *Sprachwiss. Briefe*, p. 17 ff. (1887); Penka, *Origines Ariacae*, p. 147; Hirt, *Indog. Forschungen*, IV, 36 ff.; Hempl, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 1898, p. 31 ff.; Wechssler, *Giebt es Lautgesetze?* p. 99 ff.

It is in general the aggressive languages, rather than those which abide conservatively upon their own soil, which appear to suffer most in phonetic displacement; and phonetic change may often be identified as a corruption drawn up, as it were, like a liquid by capillary attraction into the texture of the language through a depending fringe. Thus it may often be noted that a given phonetic movement in the history of a language will make its appearance on the outer frontiers of the speech-territory and work back thence into the heart of the territory. The character of High German, for instance, is largely determined by three such movements, — one, the umlaut, beginning in the north, probably on Frisian soil about A.D. 500, and working south; another, the second shifting of mutes, starting about A.D. 600 in Lombardy at the extreme south and backing up across Switzerland and down the Rhine valley with waning vigor until it died out at Düsseldorf and left the boundary between High and Low German; and finally a third, the diphthongization of *i* and *û*, beginning about A.D. 1200 at the southeastern outposts in Austria, and spreading thence over Silesia and Upper Saxony, over Bavaria, East Franconia and Swabia, and finally dying out in the Rhine valley, near the mouth of the Main, in the middle of the sixteenth century.



and to find the boundary at which the one leaves off and the other begins.

The influence of dialect upon dialect proceeds unquestionably through a sympathetic imitation that takes at least its initiation in single wholes of words, phrases, and the like,—not in minimal dislodgements of motor-sensations controlling the entire reproductive power for certain sounds involved. The facts which are open to observation within a community dialect where a phonetic change is in process of establishment—*i.e.* where the dialect is asserting itself over the expression of individuals—offer nothing different from this. The old sound appears in one word, the new sound, complete and full-armed at birth, appears in another, or in the same word at another time. The old *k* yields to the new *ch* by way of a confused struggle between the old intact and the new complete, not by way of a gradual shifting through the series *k*—*k*<sup>1</sup> . . . *ch*<sup>1</sup>—*ch*. At least such is the result of observation in living speech, and the interpretations of the confusions in written speech as due to uncertainties in recording sounds intermediate between the old and the final new is pure assumption in the interest of theory, and at variance with what we have otherwise the means to know.

Why, then, should we not accept outright the contention of Tarbell and Whitney that the sound changes advance from word to word? The reason why it *has* not been hitherto generally or frankly accepted seems to me to lie in its failure to account for such uniformity as confessedly exists. It does not *identify any compelling force* which carries a sound change from one word to another.

The observation of completed movements, such as the change of Teutonic *ai* to O. Eng. *ā* to Mod. Eng. *ō*, presents the picture of a clean sweep, before which we may well stand and marvel. Cf. *háims* (Goth.)—*hām*—*home*; *stáins*—*stān*—*stone*; *áips*—*āþ*—*oath*; *hláifs*—*hlāf*—*loaf*; *gáits*—*gāt*—*goat*; *māil*—*māl*—*mole*; *háils*—*hāl*—*whole*; and then far away in the verb-inflection, as it were beyond all reach of collusion, the *wáit*—*wāt*—*wot* and *skáin*—*sceān*—*shone*. Instead of pushing our inquiry at the doors of



psychology, metaphysics, and logic as to whether there can be uniformity, are we not rather under bonds to face the fact that uniformity does exist, and to seek from language and its life-facts the causes of the facts?

As we have already said, the negative criticism addressed by Tarbell and Whitney against the theory of Paul puts in place of that theory nothing that accounts for the admitted movement toward uniformity, word by word though it be; it *identifies no compelling force* which may carry a sound-change from one word to another. To state it concretely and in its simplest form, if *hām* has been displaced by *home*, why should that fact influence *stān* toward the change to *stone*? Surely *home* is united by no tie of like sound to *stān*; between them there is no bridge. Language has no etymological memory, that it should reshape *stān* into accord with *home*, merely because that was once *hām*. Herein lies in all simplicity the flaw, or rather the gap in the argument. The recognition of the gap seems to me naturally to suggest what fills the gap. It is a matter of commonest observation that the new pronunciation of a word does not in the individual utterly displace the old. The two exist side by side, struggling for the mastery. Certain conditions, a certain environment, the presence of certain hearers, suggest a preference for one above the other. The struggle not uncommonly lasts during the lifetime of the individual, especially if the new sound were accepted after maturity. In my own native dialect I pronounced *new* as *nū*. I have found myself in later years inclined to say *nyu*, especially when speaking carefully and particularly in public; so also *tyusdi* (Tuesday). There has developed itself in connection with these and other words a dual sound-image *ū* : *yū* of such validity that whenever *ū* is to be formed after a dental (alveolar) explosive or nasal, the alternative *yu* is likely to present itself and create the effect of momentary uncertainty. Less frequently than in *new*, *Tuesday*, the *y* intrudes itself in *tune*, *duty*, *due*, *dew*, *tumor*, *tube*, *tutor*, etc.; but under special provocation I am liable to use it in any of these, and have even caught myself, when in a mood of uttermost precision,



passing beyond the bounds of the imitative adoption of the new sound over into self-annexed territory, and creating *dyū* (do) and *tyū* (two).

I believe that our experience of language will prove to be full of cases such as this, and that it indeed represents in substance the process by which sound-change eats its way into language and passes from word to word. The bridge between the word or words already infected over to the next word attacked is the old sound-image surviving alongside the new. The sound-image must needs be the ultimate controller of the production of a sound. The sound-image for a given sound has, however, originally nothing whatsoever to do with a sound which in some given word has been produced in place of the old through imitation of a strange pronunciation of that word; *e.g.* the sound-image for *ā* in *stān* bears no relation to that controlling the *ō* which might be spoken in *stōne*, until such time as the feeling that *stōne* is a variant of *stān*, and *hōme* of *hām*, shall have locked together the two sound-images *ā* and *ō* in a dual relation, which makes one to be felt as a variant or surrogate of the other. When this has come about, then *ō* is likely to appear as temporary substitute for *ā* in any word; and furthermore the instinct which throws for one word the balance in favor of one or the other sound may be expected as an unconscious instinct of fashion to be operative when other words are reached, though with varying resistance according to the use and habitat of the single words; or, to express it rudely in shape of a formula, when the old vowel  $x_1$  in the word  $bx_1d$  becomes established in relation to the new vowel  $x_2$  of the word  $bx_2d$  as  $x_1 : x_2$ , then is that relation extended according to the fashion  $bx_1d : bx_2d :: fx_1g : fx_2g :: hx_1k : hx_2k$ , etc. Between  $bx_2d$  and  $fx_1g$  there would otherwise have been no bridge of influence; that bridge once thrown, however, the impulse determining choice between  $bx_2d$  and  $bx_1d$  is shared in the case of  $fx_2g$ ,  $fx_1g$ , etc. Herein will be found, I believe, the *compelling force* which carries a sound-image on from word to word, and which contains within itself the pledge of ultimate uniformity.



II. — *Pindar's Accusative Constructions.*

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So much has been written of Pindar's poetic style, of the fine swing of his verse, and the color and brightness of his diction, that we may fail, at first, to observe that his syntax, too, is highly interesting and poetical. The attentive reader, however, soon begins to notice departures from the ordinary standard, in mood and tense and case, and to believe that these less striking marks of individuality may contribute their share to the Theban poet's charm. The present paper had its origin in a list of unusual accusative constructions in Pindar, which the writer began to collect several years since. The list gradually became so long as to suggest that it would be worth while to make a complete collection of Pindar's accusatives, so arranged as to show at a glance whatever is most noticeable in the poet's usage. Friese, to be sure, in his "*De casuum singulari apud Pindarum usu*,"<sup>1</sup> devotes a number of pages to the accusative, but his conclusions are often vitiated by his adherence to a doctrine of the cases which is now conceded to be erroneous. Erdmann, in his "*De Pindari usu syntactico*,"<sup>2</sup> gives some attention to the cases, but his collections, though valuable, are incomplete and ill arranged. Gildersleeve, in his edition, gives two pages of illuminating discussion to the accusative, and Schroeder, in his new edition of Bergk,<sup>3</sup> has a few good remarks. But space did not permit these scholars to do more than call attention to a few striking features of Pindar's usage. In the present paper, the collection of examples is intended to be complete, though some may have been overlooked, while others, per-

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, 1866.<sup>2</sup> Halle, 1867.<sup>3</sup> Leipzig, 1900.



haps, are misinterpreted. The text of Mommsen, in his larger edition of 1864, has been followed, both in the readings adopted, and in the numbering of the odes, fragments, and verses. The discussion of textual variations has been no part of the writer's purpose, and such variations, therefore, are not referred to unless absolutely necessary.

Of the signification of the accusative in general we shall have but little to say.<sup>1</sup> The localistic theory of Hartung,<sup>2</sup> according to which the accusative was originally the "whither case," is now generally given up. Most scholars agree with Rumpel<sup>3</sup> and Hübschmann<sup>4</sup> that the relation originally expressed by this case was neither local nor logical, but grammatical. The accusative, according to this view, serves merely as the grammatical complement of the verb. It shows that the substantive stands in relation to the verb, but the logical nature of that relation is left to the intelligence of the reader, who must gather it from the context. In the words of Delbrück,<sup>5</sup> "In the accusative is placed that substantive which is most closely and fully affected by the action of the verb. It is *affected by* the action of the verb, and thereby differs from the nominative. It is *fully* affected, and thereby differs from the genitive. It is *closely* affected, and thereby differs from the dative." It follows that the different categories under which we are accustomed to classify the uses of the accusative, as they appear in Greek writers, are originally and fundamentally one. In each of them the accusative is the complement of the verb, and nothing more, though we may properly distinguish different "types of usage," in accordance with the different relations which the complement of the verb must express, as determined by the meaning of the verb or substantive, or by the context.

These different types are translated into English in different ways, according to the necessities of English idiom, and this

<sup>1</sup> In the following introductory remarks we have followed the usual authorities, especially Delbrück.

<sup>2</sup> Ueber die *Casus*, ihre Bildung und Bedeutung, 1831.

<sup>3</sup> *Casuslehre*, 1845.

<sup>4</sup> *Casuslehre*, 1875.

<sup>5</sup> *Vergleichende Syntax*, Vol. i., p. 187 (freely translated).



difference in English equivalents; here as elsewhere, has a tendency to mislead the student, and cause him to forget the essential identity of the construction, in all its different uses. For example, a Greek writer may say :—

νικάω τοὺς πολεμίους.  
 λανθάνω τὸν βασιλέα.  
 κνίσῃ οὐρανὸν ἵκει.  
 ἀλγῶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.  
 ἀπέθανε τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

In English :—

I conquer the enemy.  
 I escape the notice *of* the king.  
 The savour rises *to* the heavens.  
 I have a pain *in* my head.  
 He was slain *in* the following manner.

On the basis of English usage, and the English translation, we have here three or four different types of accusative use, but in the mind of the Greek writer the difference was very slight. His accusative, in each case, was merely the grammatical complement of the verb, as if he had said :—

I escape notice the king.  
 The savour arrives the heavens.  
 I suffer pain the head.  
 He was slain the following manner.

The quick imagination of his reader found no difficulty in grasping the precise nature of the relation in each case. If, however, the writer wished to be more explicit, and define the relation more exactly, he was at liberty to resort to a preposition, and write, as in English, *κνίσῃ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκει, ἀλγῶ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν*, etc.

With so much by way of introduction, let us take up the different types of accusative in detail. The most obvious basis of division is the distinction between the accusative as the necessary complement of a transitive verb, on the one hand, and its other uses, on the other hand. It must be





admitted, however, that in using the term "transitive verb," no real progress is made, for, in reply to the question "What is a transitive verb?" we can only say that it is a verb which is usually accompanied by an object accusative, or an accusative which is directly affected by the action of the verb. Nevertheless we can best begin by setting off the direct object of a transitive verb, or the "necessary accusative," as it is sometimes called, against the so-called "voluntary" or "paratactic" accusative; the latter designation embracing the other uses of the case, all of which can be shown to be, at bottom, the same. Under the head of voluntary accusative are included those uses which are commonly known as the cognate accusative, or accusative of the inner object; the accusative of extent of time or space; the accusative of limit of motion, or terminal accusative; the accusative of specification, or respect; and the adverbial accusative. Another category, the accusative of result (e.g. to build a ship), is sometimes employed by German grammarians, but with little practical advantage. Logically, and in its origin, this construction cannot well be distinguished from the inner object, while in actual use it lies nearer the direct or external object, since the writer can scarcely be thought to feel much difference between "to build a ship," and "to burn a ship." We shall therefore assume that all cases of the accusative of result are sufficiently accounted for, either as external or inner objects, and omit them from consideration as a distinct category.<sup>1</sup> In taking up the different types of accusative, we shall first give a brief general account of each, so far as may seem necessary, and afterwards state what peculiarities, or points of special interest, are to be found in the extant poems and fragments of Pindar.

<sup>1</sup> Further, no notice has been taken of the accusative as subject of the infinitive, which is an outgrowth of the object accusative, nor of the accusative with prepositions.



i. *Accusative of the Direct, or Necessary, Object.*

In discussing the accusative of the direct, or necessary, object, we might follow the example of Hübschmann,<sup>1</sup> and give merely an alphabetical list of all the verbs which have this construction in the writer under consideration. These number between five and six hundred in Pindar, and to record them all (beginning, perhaps, with ἔχω, which alone is responsible for 113 of Pindar's accusatives) would consume much space with but little profit, especially as these verbs may all be gathered, with but little exertion, from Rumpel's *Lexicon Pindaricum*. Or, we might note those verbs only which are transitive in Greek but intransitive in English, such as μένω, λανθάνω, φρίσσω, and many others. But here the line is shadowy and hard to draw. We shall therefore confine our observation within still narrower limits, and mention only those verbs which are construed by Pindar with a direct object, but which are differently construed by Greek writers generally. The comparatively large number of these verbs, and the striking character of some of Pindar's deviations from general Greek usage, are interesting as showing the freedom and originality with which he wrote, in matters of syntax as well as in the loftier realm of thought and poetic diction. In the list which follows, some of the verbs are so rare (one or two are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα) that the question of their construction practically disappears, but these seemed worth inserting on other grounds. Several of the verbs denote motion to a place, but the accusative which follows has not been classed as terminal, since the noun seems to be governed by the preposition in composition, and not by the idea of motion in the verb. Contrast διέρχονται βίτου τέλος I. iii. 23, where the accusative is terminal. But the verbs referred to are, of course, not strictly transitive.

ἀλέγω (care for) O. xi. 15, I. vii. 47. So, rarely, in other writers (cf. II 388). Usually with genitive.

ἀναβαίνω (embark upon) P. ii. 62, (ascend) Frag. Uncert. 129. So in Homer and Xenophon. Usually with εἰς or ἐπί.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Casuslehre*, p. 161 (for the Avesta).



- ἀνατρέχω* (traverse, repeat) O. viii. 54. No other similar case is cited. Usually to run back, run up.
- ἀναχάζω* (beat back) N. x. 69. Xen. Anab. iv. i. 16 is cited as similar, but erroneously. Usually mid., to retire.
- ἀπιθείω* (disobey) P. iv. 36. A rare epic form of *ἀπειθείω*, occurring in Homer with dat. (so *ἀπειθείω*).
- βοάω* (call upon, for) P. vi. 36. Usually intrans., though Soph. Trach. 212, and a few other cases, are cited.
- γλάζω* (sing) Frag. Parthen. 3. A softer form for *κλάζω*, occurring in Hesychius. *κλάζω* rarely takes the accusative.
- ἐγκαταβαίνω* (enter) N. i. 38. A rare compound, occurring in Diodorus with dative.
- εἰσάλλομαι* (leap into, upon) O. viii. 38. So in Homer, but with *εἰς* in later Greek.
- εἰσέρχομαι* (enter) P. x. 32, N. x. 16. In prose with *εἰς*.
- ἐμφλέγω* (light up) O. x. 74. A very rare verb, but occurring with dat. in Anth. Plan.
- ἐπιβαίνω*. Besides the ordinary causal force of the 1 aor., the 2 aor. is trans. (come upon, find) in O. ii. 95, N. i. 18. A number of cases are cited from other writers, but the gen. and dat. are more frequent.
- ἐπέτοσσε* (come upon) P. x. 33, cf. P. iv. 25. A very rare defective aor. = *ἐπέτυχε*. Cf. *τόσσαίς* P. iii. 27. *ἐπιτυγχάνω* usually takes gen. or dat.; very rarely accusative.
- ἔπομαι* (attend) N. x. 37, and (probably) O. vi. 72. This very unusual acc. with *ἔπομαι* occurs elsewhere only in Luc. Asin. 51, and in two or three late and obscure poets. Cf. Quint. Smyr. i. 341.
- εὐμενέω* (welcome) P. iv. 127. Cf. the acc. with *ἀνδάνω* (rare), and with *ἀρέσκω*.
- ἡχέω* (glorify) Frag. Dith. 3, 18. The only instance cited for this meaning. With inner object in Tragedy.
- καταβαίνω* P. viii. 78. *ἄλλον δ' ὑποχείρων μέτρῳ καταβαίνει*. This is taken to mean "bring down" by Mommsen, Schneidewin, Dissen, Fennell, though text, punctuation, and meaning are all uncertain. Contrast P. iv. 55, N. iii. 25, where the verb signifies "go down to," "land at."
- κοιρανέω* (direct) O. xiv. 9. Elsewhere with gen. or dat. only.
- μυμνήσκω* (make famous) P. xi. 13. The only case cited for the 1 aor. act. in this sense. The active occurs in Homer, meaning "remind."



νέομαι (ὄσα νέομαι, pass over) P. viii. 69. No other instance like this is cited. With terminal acc. in N. vii. 19 f.

παπταίνω (gaze at) P. iii. 22, I. vi. 44. The acc. is rare, but Homer and Sophocles are cited.

προβαίνω (overstep) N. vii. 71. No similar case is cited.

προσέρπω (creep over) O. vi. 83. Nowhere else with acc. With dat., Soph. Ajax 1255.

φραδάζω (make known) N. iii. 26. An ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

χορεύω (celebrate) I. i. 6. A very unusual meaning. Cf. Soph. Ant. 1153, Eur. H. F. 871. Occasionally causal (rouse to the dance).

## ii. *Cognate Accusative, or Accusative of the Inner Object.*

This type of accusative is one of the most interesting and important of all to the student of Greek syntax. Whatever may be our view as to the opinion held by many scholars,<sup>1</sup> that the inner object is the source from which all the other uses of the accusative have been derived, it is at least true that no other language has developed this construction so fully as the Greek. If any use of the accusative is to be called *par excellence* the "Greek accusative," it surely should be this, rather than the so-called "accusative of specification." The accusative of the inner object represents in its simplest form the content and result of the action of the verb, "die reine Wirkung," as Bernhardt called it. The term "cognate accusative," common in American grammars, is inadequate to express the wide sweep of its use, since those examples where the accusative is etymologically cognate with the governing verb are comparatively infrequent. The "accusative of result," on the other hand, though closely allied to the inner object, is yet too narrow to cover all its uses. The inner object is not the mere result of an action; it is the action itself, set before us in concrete and visible form. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find it difficult, in many cases, to draw a satisfactory line between this and the other uses of the accusative. "To build a building" is cognate. "To build a house" may be called an accusative of result.

<sup>1</sup> So Gildersleeve, A. J. P. ii. 89.



But what shall we say of "to furnish a house," "to rebuild a house," "to destroy a house"? Where is the boundary line? If "to live a life" is an inner object, so also "to live seventy years." If "to run a race" is an inner object, so also "to run a mile," and ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς πέντε. If πολλά ἔπαθον is an inner object, so also οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, and why not οὐδὲν μέλει μοι? But this disposes of a large number of our "adverbial" accusatives. If κακὸς πᾶσαν κακίαν is an inner object, why not also ἴσος κακίαν, and so on, to include ἴσος τάχος, ἴσος γένος, and many more of our accusatives "of respect"?

The list of seventy-six accusatives of inner object which we have found in Pindar could therefore easily have been made longer. Many accusatives commonly classed as direct objects might have been included, as well as many which are here classed as accusatives of extent, or adverbial accusatives. We have included only those which fall into this category more easily and naturally than into any other.

The accusative of the inner object, as well as the accusative of extent, the terminal accusative, and the accusative of respect, was forced to compete for existence with other recognized syntactical devices for expressing the same or similar relations. The encroachment of the dative is particularly noticeable, though always with a slight difference of meaning. νικᾶν μάχην is not quite the same as νικᾶν μάχην, nor ἔρχεσθαι ὁδῷ the same as ἔρχεσθαι ὁδόν.<sup>1</sup> The dative always expresses more definitely the cause, or the means, of the action; the accusative only its content.

Pindar's accusatives of the inner object are difficult to classify. Delbrück's subdivisions<sup>2</sup> (*a.* verb and noun of the same stem. *b.* verb and noun of similar meaning. *c.* noun expresses a prominent form in which the action appears) will help us but little, since but one of all our examples shows a noun of the same stem as the verb (κρατῆρα κίρναμεν I. v. 2 f.). And even if we add all of those cases where any real similarity of meaning between verb and noun can be detected (Delbrück's second subdivision), we still have left almost two-thirds of our

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Xenophon's ἐν πολλῷ πολέμῳ νικᾶν Hipp. viii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Vergleichende Syntax, Vol. i., p. 366.



examples untouched. Escher's classification<sup>1</sup> (*a.* same stem. *b.* similar meaning. *c.* noun omitted; attribute retained) is still worse, since it would leave a large number of our Pindaric inner objects quite unprovided for. We shall therefore be obliged to group our accusatives without much regard for logical order.

1. The single example of an accusative with cognate stem has already been mentioned. Passing to those which show a similarity of meaning, the most conspicuous group consists of accusatives expressing distance or way traversed. Among these, *ἔτειλαν ὁδόν* O. ii. 70, *ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι* O. vi. 25, *εὐθυπορεῖ ὁδόν* O. vii. 95, *ἤλυθον ὁδόν* P. viii. 41 f., *κέλευθον ἰών* P. xi. 39, *ἀτραπὸν ἐσσυμένα* Frag. Hyporch. 4, 4, *ἔβαινε κέλευθον* Frag. Uncert. 98, offer no difficulty. *φύγε λαιψηρόν δρόμον* P. ix. 121 is harder, but clearly belongs here. We may add *μᾶκος ἔδικε πέτρῳ* O. x. 72, and the somewhat troublesome *εὐθύν τόνον τρέχων* O. x. 64 f. All of these might be explained as accusatives of extent, but we have preferred to place them here, since the noun seems to express the action of going somewhat more clearly than a way, or portion of space, separate from the verb.

2. Next comes a group of accusatives after verbs which imply "saying" or "hearing." Here belong *ὄρκον ὁμόσσαις* O. vi. 20, *κόσμον ἐλαίας κελαδήσω* O. xi. 13 f., *κελαδήσαι πίθεό μοι ποινὰν τεθρίππων* P. i. 58 f. (cf. P. xi. 10), *ἀκοὰν ἀδείαν κλύειν* P. i. 90, *κοινὸν εὐξασθαι ἔπος* P. iii. 2, *αἴσιον ἐκλαγξε βροντάν* P. iv. 23, *ὕμνον κελάδησε* N. iv. 16, *ἀναρρήξαι τὸν λόγον* Frag. Uncert. 68, 69. These require no discussion.

3. Pindar nowhere uses the simple cognate construction *νικᾶν νίκαν*, but a number of accusatives occur which are based upon this. Such are *νικῶν δρόμον* O. iv. 22, O. xiii. 29, [*εὐτυχέων νίκαν*] *ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλα* O. vii. 86, *κράτησαν ἔργον* O. ix. 84 f., *νίκη στέφανον* N. v. 5. The last might easily be understood as a direct object.

4. The remaining inner objects which show some similarity of meaning between noun and verb are *ποινὰς ἔτισαν* O. ii. 58,

<sup>1</sup> Der Accusativ bei Sophokles, Zürich, 1876.



ἐνόπλια ἔπαιζεν O. xiii. 83, γάμον μίξειν P. iv. 222 f., μάχαν ἀντιάζωσιν N. i. 67 f., δαίσαντα γάμον N. i. 71 f., ἔλκεα ῥῆξαν N. viii. 29, τέγγων δάκρυα N. x. 75 (cf. the dat. in O. iv. 17). Here, too, we must place the very striking and unusual αὐτῷ ὄλον ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε Μῆνα O. iii. 19 f., which must be translated "the moon flashed her full radiance toward him." Finally, καλὰ δένδρε' ἔθαλλεν O. iii. 23 (cf. the dat. in O. ix. 16).

5. The next group consists of accusatives not directly connected in meaning with the verb, but expressing "a prominent form in which the action appears." Here belong the familiar πῦρ πνεόντων O. vii. 74, ὀρώντ' ἀλκάν O. ix. 111, πῦρ πνέουσιν O. xiii. 87, πνέον φλόγα P. iv. 225, πῦρ πνέοντος Frag. Uncert. 9. So with adjectives, but properly belonging here, κενεὰ πνεύσαις O. x. 93, δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές P. ii. 20, χαμηλὰ πνέων P. xi. 30, φθονερά βλέπων N. iv. 39, δέρκομαι λαμπρόν N. vii. 66, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα πνέων N. iii. 41. So, too, πολὺν ὕσε χρυσόν O. vii. 52 (cf. the dat. with νίφοντα I. vi. 5), μέλος ὀφείλων O. x. 3, ἄθυρε μεγάλα ἔργα N. iii. 44, παθόντες φιλόξενον ἔργον I. ii. 24, λόγον ἐκέρδαναν I. iv. 24, γεφύρωσε νόστον I. vii. 51, βουλευόντα φόνον Frag. Uncert. 155. A somewhat difficult case is φόρμιγγές νιν κοινωνίαν δέκονται P. i. 97 f., where the "reception," which is the inner object of δέκονται, appears in the form of a κοινωνία.

6. The accusative of adjectives or pronouns often appears as an inner object, the noun being easily supplied in thought. Here belong πολλὰ ἔπαθον, πιστὰ φρονέων, and similar types. These need not detain us long, since few of them offer any difficulty.<sup>1</sup> γλυκύ τι δαμωσόμεθα I. vii. 8 becomes tractable when we learn from the Schol. that the verb is almost equivalent to παίζω. Hence Bury's translation "sing some sweet jollity." θέλξαν νιν N. iv. 3 might be taken as a direct object, if the context did not show that θέλξαν means here, not "charm" merely, but "charm into existence" ("zaubern ihn hervor" Metzger).

<sup>1</sup> The list is (a) adjectives: O. ii. 8, ii. 23, iii. 17, vi. 94, viii. 73, xiii. 61 f., P. ii. 29, viii. 52, viii. 82, ix. 89, N. iv. 95, v. 31 f., x. 65, x. 86, I. vii. 8.

(b) pronouns: O. vii. 96 f., xiii. 42, P. i. 73, iii. 18 f., iii. 20, vi. 21 ff., viii. 39 f., N. iv. 3, ix. 50.



### iii. *Accusative of Extent of Time or Space.*

This familiar use of the accusative requires little comment. Its original character as an inner object is apparent in the Homeric use of *ὁδόν* with *ἄγω*, *ἡγέομαι*, and similar verbs; less clearly so in *μῆναι χρόνον*, *πρόπαν ἡμαρ φερόμην*. But even in Homer the fully "emancipated" accusative is well established, as in *δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας* E 387.<sup>1</sup> Here, too, the more definite expression by means of prepositions (*ἀνά*, *διά*, *κατά*, *ἐπί*, and others) early asserted itself, and soon became the preferred construction.

1. Pindar employs the accusative of time but rarely. Of the ten cases which we have noted, the word *χρόνον* itself appears in seven.<sup>2</sup> The others are *κοιτάξατο νύκτα* O. xiii. 73, *δώδεκα ἀμέρας φέρομεν δόρυ* P. iv. 25 f., *λάμπει τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα* Frag. Thren. i. i.

2. There are three accusatives in Pindar, which have been explained as accusatives of extent of space, but all of these occur in passages which are difficult and uncertain.

P. iv. 82 f.

οὐδὲ κομᾶν πλόκαμοι κερθέντες ᾤχοντ' ἀγλαοί,  
ἀλλ' ἅπαν νῶτον καταιθύσσον.

Gildersleeve and Metzger agree in considering *νῶτον* a loose accusative of extent ("flared all down his back," "wallten herab"), and this explanation is perhaps as consistent as any other with P. v. 10 (see under "two accusatives"), the only other occurrence of *καταιθύσσω* in Pindar. But most editors regard the verb as transitive here.

P. iv. 228 f.

ἀνὰ βωλακίας δ' ὀρόγυιαν σχίζει νῶτον γᾶς.

Most editors take *ἀνά* with *ὀρόγυιαν*. But Dissen, Fennell, Rumpel, and Gildersleeve construe it with *σχίζει* ("tnesis"), the latter arguing with justice that *ἀνὰ ὀρόγυιαν* should mean "fathom by fathom," and not "fathom deep," as demanded

<sup>1</sup> These examples from Delbrück.

<sup>2</sup> O. i. 115, xiii. 24 f.; P. i. 56 f.; N. i. 69, vii. 38 f.; I. iii. 6, iv. 25.



by the context here. Hence ἀνὰ . . . σχίζε is to be preferred, and δρόγων is an accusative of extent.

P. v. 30 f.

ἀκηράτοις ἀνίαις  
ποδαρκέων δώδεκα δρόμων [δωδεκαδρόμων M.] τέμενος.

This is a very difficult passage, which has been freely emended. Mommsen and Schroeder follow the Schol., who took ποδαρκέων as a participle, τέμενος then being an accusative of extent; and, as to the latter, Gildersleeve agrees.

One fact, however, which bears upon the interpretation of all three of these passages, seems to have escaped the notice of the editors who have commented upon them. There is not, in all of Pindar, a single example of the accusative of extent of space, except the three which have just been cited,<sup>1</sup> all of which are doubtful, and all of a more or less abnormal character. Nowhere in Pindar do we find anything like Xenophon's familiar ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς πέντε. It is, to say the least, remarkable that a construction which Pindar never uses in a simple and natural way should appear three times in his poems in a strained and unnatural form, and always in passages of doubtful reading and interpretation. We may well doubt whether criticism has yet said its last word upon the text and meaning of these three passages.

#### iv. *Accusative of Limit of Motion, or Terminal Accusative.*

If the localistic theory of Hartung be correct, we must recognize in the terminal accusative the original use of the accusative as the "whither case." But in accordance with the opinion now generally accepted, this accusative, like the others, is to be regarded merely as the complement of the verb, or, as Gildersleeve puts it, "not a whither case, but a characteristic of motion." This use of the case was common in Sanskrit, but was almost crowded out in Greek by the various prepositional phrases. Among Greek writers the tragedians employ it most frequently, Homer and Pindar less

<sup>1</sup> But see under Adverbial Accusative.



often, while in Attic prose it rarely occurs. Even Pindar much prefers to use a preposition, and confines the terminal accusative to a limited number of verbs. Of his 27 terminal accusatives, 14 follow some form of *ἵκω* (*ἰκνέομαι*) or its compounds. But this verb always carries with it, more or less distinctly, the idea of reaching a point, or arriving, so that it may be regarded as almost transitive, though in Attic prose it is usually followed by a preposition. These 14 accusatives require no further consideration.<sup>1</sup>

Thirteen cases remain,<sup>2</sup> which deserve special notice. In seven of these<sup>3</sup> the verb of motion is *ἔρχομαι*, and the terminal character of the accusative is unmistakable, except, perhaps, in *θάλλοντες αἰεὶ σὺν θεῷ, θνατὸν διέρχονται βίотου τέλος* I. iii. 22 f. Here it might be thought that the accusative depends upon the preposition *διὰ* in composition, but the context clearly shows that the meaning is not "pass through," but "pass through *to* the goal of life." The two cases<sup>4</sup> with *μολεῖν* are equally clear. With *οἴχνέω*<sup>5</sup> there is perhaps room for doubt. The verb is not a common one, but its close connection with *οἴχομαι*, which is never transitive, must determine its character. Finally we find *Ξάνθον ἤπειγεν καὶ Ἀμυζόντας εὐίππους καὶ ἐς Ἴστρον ἐλαύνων* O. viii. 47, which is probably an example of the "suspended" preposition (so Gildersleeve); and *ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου πέρας ἄμα νέονται* N. vii. 19 f., where the accusative is clearly terminal (contrast P. viii. 69).

Among these terminal accusatives it is but natural that names or designations of places should predominate (16 out of 27). But Pindar's freedom of usage is shown by the fact that names of persons also appear (5), as well as designations of states or conditions (6). The most noteworthy of all these

<sup>1</sup> They are O. vi. 64, x. 87, xi. 17 ff.; P. iv. 118, iv. 266, v. 27, viii. 54 f., ix. 51 f., xi. 35; N. iii. 3, v. 50; I. iii. 50, vi. 18 f., vi. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *μὲ προσέρπει* O. vi. 83, *ναὸν καταβάντα* P. iv. 55, *σπάργαων ἐγκατέβα* N. i. 38, *κατέβαινε νόττον τέλος* N. iii. 25, which by many editors are loosely called terminal accusatives, are not properly so explained, since in each the preposition in composition is sufficient to account for the accusative.

<sup>3</sup> O. xiv. 21; P. iv. 51 f., iv. 134, v. 49; I. ii. 48, iii. 23, iii. 70 ff.

<sup>4</sup> O. ix. 71, N. x. 36.

<sup>5</sup> P. v. 80; Frag. Dith. 3, 5.



instances is *ὅταν ξείνον ἐμὸν ἡθαῖον ἔλθῃς* I. ii. 48, which has few real parallels in Greek literature.<sup>1</sup>

v. *Accusative of Specification, or Respect.*

The term "accusative of respect" is a vague and unsatisfactory one, and serves to designate a class of case-uses to which it is difficult to assign definite bounds. Makers of text-books, German as well as English and American, are much inclined to a loose and unscientific extension of this category, to include many accusatives which admit of other and more correct explanations. It is at best, as Brugmann<sup>2</sup> remarks, only a sort of "Notbehelf," and should be restricted within as narrow limits as possible. Especially should the so-called "accusative of respect with a whole clause," in the sense "quod attinet ad," be regarded always with the utmost suspicion, though it is recognized by Gerth, and is even employed in the present paper (with much hesitation) to explain certain adverbial accusatives.

The accusative of respect may have originated in some such construction as the double accusative of the whole and part.<sup>3</sup> Thus *τὸν βάλε κνήμην*, "he smote him — his shin," becomes, in the passive, *βλήτο κνήμην*, "he was smitten — his shin." When the origin of the latter construction had been forgotten, *κνήμην* was thought of as an accusative of respect; and the category once established, it was easy to extend it, by analogy, to a much wider range of nouns and verbs. The construction appears in Homer, and is fairly familiar throughout Greek literature, though it constantly alternates with the dative, or with the accusative with *εἰς*, *κατά*, or *πρός*, in much the same sense. Thus we find *εὐρύτερος τοῖς ὤμοις*, *εὐρύτερος τοῖς ὤμοις*, *εὐρύτερος κατὰ τοὺς ὤμοις*, with very slight difference of meaning.

1. Pindar's accusatives of respect are, for the most part, simple and unmistakable. As might be expected, the con-

<sup>1</sup> See Soph. Phil. 141, Eur. Hipp. 1371.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann himself, however, seems to be inclined to extend the application of this construction unnecessarily. See his *Griech. Gram.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 381 f.

<sup>3</sup> But see Brugmann, *loc. cit.*



struction appears most frequently with words denoting the body or its parts, such as *ἄμυν* O. i. 27, *χέρα* O. ii. 94, *χεῖρας* N. vi. 35, I. vii. 37, *σῶμα* O. vi. 56, *δέμας* P. iii. 50, *χρῶτα* I. iii. 41, *μέλη* P. iii. 48, *νῶτον* N. x. 44, *νῶτα* P. iv. 183, N. ix. 26, *πρόσωπα* I. ii. 8, *κάρα* I. iii. 87. So also *πινός* N. x. 74, *ἀκμὰν ποδῶν* I. vii. 37, *φύσιν* N. vi. 5, *εἶδος* P. ii. 38, ix. 108, *ὄψιν* N. x. 15, *μορφάν* I. iii. 71, *φυνάν* I. v. 47. Here we must place also *τὰ δ' ὑπερθε* (as to the upper part of his body) *πατρός* P. ii. 48.

2. Closely allied to these is a group of words signifying "mind," "heart," "spirit," "temper," many of which were originally physical and concrete in meaning, and so formed the connecting link. Here belong *φρένας* O. i. 41, Frag. Uncert. 136, *νόον* P. i. 95, N. vi. 5, *θυμόν* P. ii. 74, N. ix. 27, I. iii. 64, I. vii. 5, I. vii. 25, *ψυχάν* P. iv. 122, I. iii. 71, *κέαρ* P. x. 22, *ἦτορ* N. iv. 35, N. viii. 24, *νόημα* Frag. Scol. 1, *καρδίαν* Frag. Scol. 2.

3. But abstract ideas are not lacking. We find *δύναμιν* O. i. 104, *θάρσος* P. v. 104, *γένος* P. ix. 14, *αἷμα* N. vi. 35 (?), *τάχος* N. vi. 64, *μῆτιν* I. iii. 65, *ἀρετάν* Frag. Isth. 4, 6, *σθένος* Frag. Uncert. 188.

4. A still further extension is seen in the four examples which remain. As to *φρονεῖν τὸ παρακείμενον* (to be prudent in that which lies nearest) N. iii. 75, there can be little question, though we may be tempted to call the accusative an inner object. So, too, with *οὐ ψεύδος ἐρίξω* (I shall not vie in falsehood) Frag. Uncert. 191; cf. *οὐδ' εἰ χρυσείῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλος ἐρίξω* I. 389. But in O. ii. 6, where Pindar speaks of Theron as *ὅπιν δίκαιον ξένων* (just in his regard for strangers?) both text and interpretation are uncertain. Still more so in P. vi. 50 *ἄς εὖρες ἱππέλας ἐσόδους* (as regards the contests of steeds which thou didst invent—Mommsen). Here the harsh and unusual accusative of respect which Mommsen's text offers is in itself sufficient to condemn his reading, which, indeed, is followed by no other editor of importance.

The words upon which Pindar's accusatives of respect depend are varied in character.



1. First should be mentioned, if our suggestion as to the origin of the construction be accepted, the accusative of the part affected after passive verbs or participles. Such are *βεβρεγμένος, δαμέντες, αἰσχυνθήμεν, ἔλκομαι, κεχαλκεύεται, πεδαθέντα, τερνόμενοι, περθόμενοι, δεθείς, τυπέντα, ἐπιεσσάμενοι* (practically passive), *ἀργυρωθείσαι, λευκωθείς, ἀχνύμενος*.

2. Adjectives and participles of resemblance are frequent, such as *ἴσον, ἐναλίγκιον, εἰκώς, πρέπεν, προσφέρωμεν, ἐειδόμενος, οἶοι*. Here belong also *αἰετός* (like an eagle), *ἀλώπηξ* (like a fox).

3. Adjectives or participles expressing a quality, superiority or inferiority, etc., such as *πινυτοί, ἀπήμων, ἄλκιμον, κυριώτερον, ἄρρηκτον, θαητόν, ἀφθονέστερον, δίκαιον, ἄκαμptos, κεκαδόμενον, βραχύς, νηλέα, πτάμεναι* (fluttering), *δεύτερος*.

4. A little less easy and natural is the accusative of respect with intransitive verbs and participles, such as *τέρπεται, φρίσσοντα, λάμπει, γάθησεν, ἐρίξω*, and even *φρονεῖν*.

#### vi. *Adverbial Accusative.*

Pindar uses as adverbs the accusative, both singular and plural, of adjectives and pronouns, and even of nouns. Many of these adverbs can be seen at once to have been originally accusatives of the inner object, of time or space, or of respect, but in the case of many of them the explanation is difficult. So, too, the ground for the preference, now for a singular accusative, and now for a plural, is sometimes apparent and sometimes hard to see.<sup>1</sup> In discussing Pindar's adverbial accusatives, we shall take them up in an order determined chiefly by their external form.

I. *πρῶτον*,<sup>2</sup> *πρότερον*,<sup>3</sup> *πρώτιστον*,<sup>4</sup> *δεύτερον*.<sup>5</sup>

These were originally, in most cases, accusatives of time; not however of extent of time, as might be expected, but usually of the "time when," a use of the temporal accusative which is more frequent than is sometimes thought. Cf. *νύκτα*

<sup>1</sup> See Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax*, Vol. i., p. 616 ff.

<sup>2</sup> O. vi. 35, vi. 88, P. iv. 31, iv. 217, N. i. 43, ii. 4, I. v. 3, Frag. Hymn. 2, 1.

<sup>3</sup> O. xiii. 30, P. vi. 28.

<sup>4</sup> N. v. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Frag. Dith. 3, 8.



(by night) Her. i. 181, *ἡμαρ* (by day) Hes. Op. 176, *τὴν ὥρην* (at the appointed time) Her. ii. 2.

2. *λοιπόν*,<sup>1</sup> *ὀλίγον*,<sup>2</sup> *πολλόν*,<sup>3</sup> *χλαρόν*,<sup>4</sup> *παλαιάφατον*,<sup>5</sup> *ὄρθιον*,<sup>6</sup> *ἴσον*,<sup>7</sup> *πρόσφατον*,<sup>8</sup> *ἄφαντον*,<sup>9</sup> *ἐξαίρετον*,<sup>10</sup> *περαιότερον*,<sup>11</sup> *ἐναντίον*,<sup>12</sup> *κάλλιον*,<sup>13</sup> *βαθύ*,<sup>14</sup> *ταχύ*,<sup>15</sup> *εὐρύ*,<sup>16</sup> *ἥμισυ*,<sup>17</sup> *μέγα*,<sup>18</sup> *σαφές*,<sup>19</sup> *συνεχές*,<sup>20</sup> *πάνετες*,<sup>21</sup> *ἀτενές*.<sup>22</sup>

These were probably inner objects, except *λοιπόν*, *πολλόν*, *παλαιάφατον*, *πάνετες*, *ἥμισυ*, which were temporal accusatives.

3. *τὸ λοιπόν*,<sup>23</sup> *τὸ πρῶτον*,<sup>24</sup> *τὸ πρίν*,<sup>25</sup> *τὸ νῦν*,<sup>26</sup> *τό γέ νυν*,<sup>27</sup> *τὸ δὲ συγγενές*,<sup>28</sup> *τὸ δ' ἑτεόν*,<sup>29</sup> *τὸ δὲ οἰκοθεν*,<sup>30</sup> *τὸ μὲν γὰρ πατρόθεν*,<sup>31</sup> *τὸ δ' ἐκ Διός*.<sup>32</sup>

Of these, the first five are clearly temporal. The rest are perhaps accusatives of respect, except *τὸ δ' ἑτεόν*, which is vague.

4. *τό* (therefore),<sup>33</sup> *τὸ μὲν*,<sup>34</sup> *τὸ δέ*,<sup>35</sup> *τί* (how? why?),<sup>36</sup> *τὶ* (somewhat),<sup>37</sup> *τόσον*,<sup>38</sup> *τοσοῦτο*,<sup>39</sup> *ὅσον*,<sup>40</sup> *οἶον*,<sup>41</sup> *ἀμφότερον*.<sup>42</sup>

Of these, *τό*, *τὸ μὲν* (in P. v. 14), *τὸ δέ* (in P. vii. 18), are probably accusatives of respect. *τὸ μὲν* (in P. xi. 63), *τὸ δέ* (in P. xi. 64), *τοσοῦτο*, *ὅσον*, are accusatives of time or space. *τί*, *τὶ*, *οἶον*, are inner objects. *τὸ μὲν* (in P. ii. 31) is in apposition with the preceding. The rest are vague.

5. *πολλά*,<sup>43</sup> *τὰ πολλά*,<sup>44</sup> *ἀντία*,<sup>45</sup> *μακρά*,<sup>46</sup> *περισσά*,<sup>47</sup> *ἐξοχώ*

<sup>1</sup> P. i. 37, iv. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. Paean. 10. 1.

<sup>3</sup> O. x. 36.

<sup>4</sup> P. ix. 38.

<sup>5</sup> N. ii. 16.

<sup>6</sup> O. ix. 109, N. x. 76.

<sup>7</sup> O. xiii. 43, xiii. 99, P. ii. 25, viii. 45, I. vi. 27.

<sup>8</sup> P. i. 20.

<sup>9</sup> P. ii. 77.

<sup>10</sup> P. v. 110, N. vii. 45.

<sup>11</sup> P. ix. 41, N. iii. 49.

<sup>12</sup> P. xi. 39.

<sup>13</sup> P. ii. 78.

<sup>14</sup> N. iv. 4, 5.

<sup>15</sup> I. ii. 35.

<sup>16</sup> O. i. 46, vi. 79, xii. 6, xiii. 14, xiii. 16, N. viii. 8, xi. 6, 7.

<sup>17</sup> P. ii. 54.

<sup>18</sup> O. i. 36, xiii. 51, P. iv. 285.

<sup>19</sup> O. viii. 53.

<sup>20</sup> P. iv. 299.

<sup>21</sup> P. xi. 30.

<sup>22</sup> P. iv. 122.

<sup>23</sup> O. viii. 63.

<sup>24</sup> Frag. Uncert. 150.

<sup>25</sup> P. v. 109.

<sup>26</sup> P. xi. 44.

<sup>27</sup> P. x. 12.

<sup>28</sup> P. xi. 41.

<sup>29</sup> P. viii. 51.

<sup>30</sup> P. vii. 18, N. vi. 4, and often.

<sup>31</sup> I. ii. 35.

<sup>32</sup> N. iv. 93.

<sup>33</sup> P. v. 11.

<sup>34</sup> P. ii. 79.

<sup>35</sup> N. i. 51.

<sup>36</sup> O. xiii. 23.

<sup>37</sup> N. x. 87.

<sup>38</sup> N. iii. 40.

<sup>39</sup> I. iii. 83.

<sup>40</sup> O. vii. 23.

<sup>41</sup> N. xi. 43.

<sup>42</sup> O. vi. 56, P. v. 37.

<sup>43</sup> P. ii. 31, v. 14, xi. 63.

<sup>44</sup> O. vii. 24, P. vii. 18, xi. 64.

<sup>45</sup> I. i. 37.

<sup>46</sup> P. i. 45, I. ii. 35.

<sup>47</sup> N. vii. 43, Frag. Uncert. 132.



τατα,<sup>1</sup> κούφα,<sup>2</sup> ἄγχιστα,<sup>3</sup> σφόδρα,<sup>4</sup> ἴσα,<sup>5</sup> ἐπιδέξια,<sup>6</sup> ἀτέκμαρτα,<sup>7</sup> ξυνά,<sup>8</sup> ταπεινά,<sup>9</sup> χαῦνα,<sup>10</sup> πλείστα,<sup>11</sup> πρῶτα.<sup>12</sup>

Of these, πολλά, ἀντία (in O. i. 36, P. iv. 285), περισσά, ἄγχιστα, ξυνά, ταπεινά, χαῦνα, πλείστα, πρῶτα, are inner objects. μακρά is an accusative of extent. τὰ πολλά is probably an accusative of respect. ἐξοχώτατα seems to be predicative with τὰ δέ in the previous verse. The rest are vague.

6. τὰ μέν,<sup>13</sup> τὰ δέ,<sup>14</sup> τά τε.<sup>15</sup>

Of these, τὰ μέν (in N. iii. 43) is temporal. τὰ δέ (in O. xiii. 53) is an accusative of respect. τὰ μέν (in N. viii. 30) is in apposition with a word in the previous verse. τά τε is vague. The rest are inner objects.

7. ἄτε,<sup>16</sup> τοσσάδε,<sup>17</sup> ὅσσα,<sup>18</sup> οἷα,<sup>19</sup> ἄλλα,<sup>20</sup> ἀμφοτέρα.<sup>21</sup>

Most of the accusatives included in this group may be explained as inner objects. But ἄτε (in Frag. Uncert. 6), and ὅσσα, appear to be accusatives of respect, τοσσάδε an accusative of time, ἄτε (in N. vii. 105 and I. v. 51) a direct object, while ἄλλα is vague, but was probably an inner object.

8. The adverbial accusatives thus far treated are all adjectives or pronouns, singular or plural. We come now to a short list of nouns in the accusative, which are, or have been called, adverbial in use. We take up first a number of passages which illustrate the process by which an accusative in apposition with a preceding clause may become an adverb, or even a preposition.

O. vii. 16 f.

ὄφρα πελώριον ἄνδρα . . .  
αἰνέσω πνυγμᾶς ἄποινα.

I. iii. 7

εὐκλέων δ' ἔργων ἄποινα χρὴ μὲν ὑμνῆσαι τὸν ἐσλόν.

<sup>1</sup> N. iv. 92.

<sup>8</sup> N. iii. 45.

<sup>9</sup> N. iii. 82.

<sup>2</sup> O. xiv. 17.

<sup>6</sup> P. vi. 19.

<sup>10</sup> P. ii. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Frag. Uncert. 9.

<sup>7</sup> O. vii. 47.

<sup>11</sup> P. ix. 97.

<sup>4</sup> N. iv. 37.

<sup>8</sup> I. vii. 46.

<sup>12</sup> P. iv. 255.

<sup>13</sup> P. ii. 65, xi. 46, N. iii. 43, viii. 30, Frag. Isth. 4, 5

<sup>14</sup> O. ix. 95, xii. 6, xiii. 53, P. ii. 65, viii. 28, I. iii. 11.

<sup>15</sup> O. xiii. 94.

<sup>16</sup> O. i. 2, P. ii. 79, ii. 84, iv. 30, N. vii. 105, I. v. 51, Frag. Uncert. 6.

<sup>17</sup> O. i. 115.

<sup>19</sup> O. i. 16, I. i. 21, Frag. Uncert. 72.

<sup>18</sup> N. ii. 17.

<sup>20</sup> P. ii. 85.

<sup>21</sup> O. i. 104.



In these two examples, *ἄποινα* is clearly in apposition with the idea expressed in the first case by *αἰνέσω ἄνδρα*, and in the second by *ὑμνῆσαι τὸν ἐσλόν*. The accusative case is natural, since an accusative stands in each passage as a sort of "leader" (*ἄνδρα, ἐσλόν*). Yet even here *ἄποινα* would be called an adverbial accusative by many editors.

So with *χάριν*.

O. x. 78 f.

καί νυν ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν  
νίκας ἀγερῶχου, κελαδησόμεθα βροντάν.

Here the appositional clause is *κελαδησόμεθα βροντάν*.

P. xi. 9 ff.

ὄφρα Θέμιν . . . . .  
. . . . . κελαδήσετε  
ἐπταπύλοισι Θήβαις  
χάριν.

Here the appositional clause is *Θέμιν κελαδήσετε*.

N. i. 4 ff.

σέθεν ἀδυεπής  
ὕμνος ὀρμᾶται θέμεν  
αἶνον ἀελλοπόδων μέγαν ἵππων, Ζηγὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν.

Here the appositional clause is *θέμεν αἶνον ἵππων*. In each of the last three examples another accusative is present, as a "leader" (*βροντάν, Θέμιν, ἵππους*).

P. iii. 95 f.

Διὸς δὲ χάριν  
ἐκ προτέρων μεταμειψάμενοι καμάτων ἔστασαν ὀρθὰν καρδίαν.

Here the transition of *χάριν* to an adverb is farther advanced, and we are inclined to translate *Διὸς δὲ χάριν* "thanks to Zeus" (Gildersleeve). But the "leader" remains in *καρδίαν*, and the appositional force is still vaguely felt.

O. vii. 1 ff.

φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τις . . . . . ἐλὼν  
. . . . .  
δωρήσεται  
νεανία γαμβρῷ . . . . .  
συμποσίῳ [v. l. — ον] τε χάριν.



Here Mommsen's reading *συμποσίῳ* is supported by A<sup>1</sup> only. The other Mss., and most editors, give *συμποσίου*, which allows *χάριν* its *quasi*-prepositional force. But with either text the apposition is felt, and *φιάλαν*, as "leader," fixes the case.

P. ii. 69 ff.

τὸ Καστόρειον δ' ἐν Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς θέλων  
ἄθρησον χάριν, ἐπτακτύπου  
φόρμυγος ἀντόμενος.

Here Mommsen's punctuation after *χάριν* is ill-judged. Removing the comma, *χάριν*, with *φόρμυγος*, gains its *quasi*-prepositional force. "View kindly the Castoreum in Aeolian mode, for the sake of the seven-toned phorminx, coming to meet it." The apposition is still felt, and the "leader" is present in *τὸ Καστόρειον*.

Compare also N. xi. 16

καὶ τελευτὰν ἀπάντων γὰρ ἐπιεσσόμενος

where *τελευτάν* ("as the end of all things") follows the case of *γὰρ*, but is in apposition with the clause *γὰρ ἐπιεσσόμενος*.

*χάριν* is not the only adverbial accusative which becomes practically a preposition. Compare

P. ii. 84

ποτὶ δ' ἐχθρόν, ἄτ' ἐχθρὸς ἑὼν, λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι.

Here there is no clear apposition, and no distinct "leader," but the construction of *χάριν*, illustrated above, must have furnished the analogy for this. So, probably, if the context were not lost, in

Frag. Uncert. 156

αἰλίου δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν

"in imitation of the dolphin of the sea."

In I. v. 57 f.

Φυλακίδα γὰρ ἦλθον, ὦ Μοῖσα, ταμίας  
Πυθία τε κώμων Εὐθυμένει τε, τὸν Ἀργείων τρόπον



the adverbial force of *τρόπον*, which is so familiar in Attic prose, is harder to explain. But even here some feeling of apposition with the idea in *ἦλθον* may be detected, though many would prefer to regard *τρόπον* as a development from the inner object.

Another possible example of this suggested development of an adverbial accusative from an inner object is seen in

N. iii. 71 ff.

*ἐξοχώτερος γίνηται*  
*ἐν παισὶ νέουσι παῖς, ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνὴρ, τρίτον*  
*ἐν παλαιτέροισι μέρος.*

Whether the comma be placed after *ἀνὴρ*, or after *τρίτον*, in either case *τρίτον* [*μέρος*] is best explained as an inner object with *ἐξοχώτερος*, — “excellent in the third stage of excellence.”

A more difficult case is

P. i. 81 f.

*καιρὸν εἰ φθέγγαιο, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσσαις*  
*ἐν βραχεί, μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώπων.*

Schneidewin, Gildersleeve, and Christ, take *καιρὸν* as adverbial (“opportunely”), and Boeckh must mean the same when he says, in the fashion of his time, that *καιρὸν* is equivalent to *κατὰ καιρὸν*. But this case differs somewhat from all the preceding in that, on the one hand, it is difficult to see from what accusative construction the adverbial force arose, while, on the other hand, *καιρὸν* is not a word like *χάριν*, *δίκην*, *τρόπον*, to which the adverbial force was conventionally attached. It is possible that here, too, with Krüger, Di. 46, 7, 4, we may regard *καιρὸν* as an extension of the inner object. So in

I. i. 36

*εἰ δ' ἄρετῃ κατὰκειται πᾶσαν ὀργάν*

where *ὀργάν* is explained by Fennell as an accusative of specification, but by Gerth, probably correctly, as an extension of the inner object (*omni studio*).

The two remaining adverbial accusatives offer no difficulty. In



## I. iii. 85 f.

καὶ δεύτερον ἄμαρ ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων  
γίνεται,

δεύτερον ἄμαρ is an accusative of time, which would not have been called adverbial were it not for the fact that it signifies "time when," rather than "how long," the more common meaning of the temporal accusative.<sup>1</sup>

## N. xi. 24 ff.

ναὶ μὰ γὰρ ὄρκον, ἐμὲν δόξαν παρὰ Κασταλίας  
· · · · ·  
κάλλιον ἂν δηριώντων ἐνόστησ' ἀντιπάλων.

Here the relation expressed by ἐμὲν δόξαν is somewhat vague, but it may possibly be called an accusative of respect, — "so far as my opinion is concerned."

vii. *Two Accusatives with One Verb.*

## 1. Object accusative and predicate accusative.

This is by far the most frequent use of the double accusative in Pindar. Especially with verbs signifying "to make," a predicate noun or adjective is often added, the latter more frequently than the former.<sup>2</sup> The verb is usually some form of τίθημι (23 cases), but τεύχω occurs twice, and τελέω once, — ξείνον ἄμὸν μοιρίδιον τελέσαι I. v. 46. In the latter example there is some uncertainty as regards text and interpretation, but we cannot well reject the translation of Boeckh and Hermann, — "to make my host happy by fate."

The double accusative with verbs of "calling," "naming," is also frequent,<sup>3</sup> not only with καλέω, κυκλήσκω, ὀνο[υ]μάζω, but also with εἶπον, ἐνέπω, προσφθέγγομαι. These cases require little discussion. In καὶ πάγον Κρόνου προσεφθέγγατο

<sup>1</sup> See under Accusative of extent of Time.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. and pred. noun. O. viii. 16 ff., x. 46 f., P. ii. 39, ix. 6 f., ix. 54, N. x. 7.

Acc. and pred. adj. O. i. 63 f., ii. 16 f., vi. 4, vii. 6, viii. 16 f., viii. 86, xiii. 94, P. i. 40, ix. 63, x. 15 f., x. 57 f., xii. 14, N. i. 58 f., iv. 4 f., iv. 84 f., v. 9 f., viii. 50, I. i. 2 f., v. 46, Frag. Hyporch. 4, 3.

<sup>3</sup> O. i. 52, vi. 56 f., x. 49 f., P. ii. 44, iv. 119, xi. 5 f., xii. 22 f., N. vi. 59, vi. 64 f., I. ii. 27 f., v. 53, Frag. Dith. 3, 10, ibid. 9, Frag. Pros. Str. 3 f., Frag. Parth. 5.



O. x. 49 f. we may doubt whether *πάγον* is to be repeated in thought with *Κρόνου*, or the latter taken as equivalent to *Κρόνου*, but in either case the construction is essentially the same. The passive is seen in *κατεφάμειξεν καλείσθαι νιν τοῦτ' ὄννμ' ἀθάνατον* O. vi. 56 f.

The other examples of object and predicate accusative are *μεγασθενῇ νόμισαν χρυσόν* I. iv. 2 f., *τὸν καλέσαντο* (called to be) *συνεργόν* O. viii. 31 f., and the somewhat unusual *παντὶ μὲν θεὸν αἴτιον ὑπερτιθέμεν* P. v. 23, — “to set God over everything as its author” (Gildersleeve). Finally, in *χρῆσεν οἰκιστήρα Βάττον* P. iv. 6, we have a very free use of *χράω*, — “oracularly proclaimed Battus as destined to be.”

## 2. Accusative of person and accusative of thing.

With verbs signifying to “do anything to” or “say anything of” any one, the only example in Pindar is *τί με λεξοῦντι*; Frag. Scol. Ep. prim. 1. With this may perhaps be classed the less usual construction in *ἅπαντας ἐν οἴκῳ εἴρετο παῖδα* O. vi. 48 f., — “inquired concerning the child.”<sup>1</sup>

With verbs signifying “deprive” we find *δύο ἄνθεά σε ἐνόσφισε κλᾶρος προπετής*, N. vi. 61 ff., and the somewhat bolder uses in *οὐδέ νιν φόβος ἔπαυσεν ἀκμὰν φρενῶν* N. iii. 39 (incorrectly explained by Krüger, Di. 46, 16, 3, as “whole and part”), and *τὸν μὲν ἐρήμωσαν εὐφροσύνας μέρος* P. iii. 97 f. (contrast O. xii. 16, where the acc. and gen. are used with *ἀμείρω*).

With verbs signifying “ask,” “demand,” “exact,” two accusatives occur in O. iii. 7 ff., x. 28 f., P. ix. 103 f., Frag. Uncert. 24. These present nothing of special interest. The same may be said of P. iv. 217, N. iii. 55, where two accusatives are used with verbs signifying “teach.”

3. The familiar Homeric construction of “whole and part” appears but twice in Pindar, — O. i. 68, I. iv. 7 f. These require no discussion.

4. The five remaining instances of the double accusative are all somewhat unusual, and outside the ordinary lines of Greek usage. They are

## I. v. 74

*πίσω σφε Δίρκας ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ.*

<sup>1</sup> Though this might be considered an example of prolepsis.



*πιπίσκω* is a very rare verb, and no other case is cited with this construction, though *ποτίζω* is so used in Plat. Phaedrus 247 E, and *εύωχέω* in Plat. Gorg. 522 A, and Disson compares the double accusative with *θουλίζω* Her. i. 129. We may accept this as an instance of direct object with inner object, but the genitive *ἀγνοῦ ὕδατος* would be expected.

P. ix. 38 f.

τὸν δὲ Κένταυρος . . . μῆτιν ἔαν εὐθὺς ἀμείβετο.

Here the dative "of the thing" would be expected, but since *ἀμείβεσθαί τι* and *ἀμείβεσθαί τινα* are both possible, the combination of the two need not surprise us. Cf. *αἰδοῖα ἔπη ξένους ἀμείβεσθε* Aesch. Suppl. 194 f., and *ἐν γὰρ μ' ἄμειψαι* Soph. O. C. 991. A more difficult case is

P. v. 10 (cf. P. iv. 83, O. x. 73)

εὐδίαν . . . τεὰν καταθύσσει μάκαιραν ἐστίαν

- ("sheds calm upon thy happy hearth"). Here *εὐδίαν* must be the inner object after the idea of "shedding brightness" in *αἰθύσσω* (Gildersleeve compares *αἶθω*), and *ἐστίαν* an accusative of extent, or a terminal accusative.

N. i. 64 ff.

καί τινα . . . .  
 . . . . τὸν ἐχθρότατον  
 φᾶσέ νιν δώσειν μόρον.

If the text be retained, this is an instance of two accusatives, of the person and of the thing, after *δίδωμι*. But such a construction is so absolutely unique that most editors emend. Mommsen, alone of modern editors, doubtfully reads as above. In view of Pindar's frequent use of daring constructions, and the unanimous testimony of the Mss., it would seem that this might be accepted. Cf. *γεύω* with two accusatives (give a taste of) in Eur. Cycl. 149.

N. xi. 11

ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ μακαρίζω μὲν πατέρ' Ἀρκεσίλαν.



Here Christ sees a double accusative after *μακαρίζω* (I congratulate the man, i.e. Aristagoras, upon his father Arcesilas), supporting his opinion by *τουτὶ γὰρ τοί σε μόνον τούτων ὧν εἴρηκας μακαρίζω* Aristoph. Wasps 588. But the latter passage is itself doubtful, and has often been emended; and no other similar use of *μακαρίζω* can be found. Moreover, Christ's interpretation does not suit the context, since the father, Arcesilas, is represented elsewhere in the poem (see 22, 38) as having been a man of backward disposition, so that there is little reason for such a congratulation. The double accusative construction in this case must therefore be considered doubtful, or impossible, and *ἄνδρα* must be explained along the lines suggested by Dissen (an appositive, placed first for the sake of the contrast), Fennell (accusative *prehens*), Bury (as for the man, I deem his father happy), or Metzger (ich preise den Mann, nämlich seinen Vater).

#### viii. *Proleptic Accusative. Conclusion.*

In conclusion, we may record the fact that four accusatives in Pindar are best explained as proleptic. These are *ἀνάγνωτέ μοι . . . παῖδα, πόθι φρενὸς ἐμᾶς γέγραπται* O. x. 1 ff.; *υἱὸν εἶπης* (tell him of his son) *ὅτι κτλ.* O. xiv. 22; *δέρμα ἔννεπεν, ἔνθα νιν ἐκτάνυσαν* P. iv. 241 f.; *ἄκουσεν Δαναόν, οἶον κτλ.* P. ix. 112 f.

Once an accusative is used after an adverb of swearing; viz. *ναὶ μὰ γὰρ ὄρκον* N. xi. 24.

#### SUMMARY OF INNER OBJECT ACCUSATIVES.

Cognate stem . . . . .		1
Similar meaning, — motion . . . . .	10	
saying, hearing . . . . .	8	
conquer . . . . .	5	
other verbs . . . . .	<u>9</u>	32
Prominent form of action		
look, breathe, etc. . . . .	11	
other verbs . . . . .	<u>8</u>	19
Adjectives . . . . .		15
Pronouns . . . . .		<u>9</u>
Total . . . . .		76



## SUMMARY OF TERMINAL ACCUSATIVES.

With ἴκω, ἰκνέομαι . . . . .	14
“ ἔρχομαι . . . . .	7
“ μολεῖν . . . . .	2
“ οἰχνέω . . . . .	2
“ ἡπείγεν . . . ἐλαύνων (?) . . . . .	1
“ νέομαι . . . . .	<u>1</u>
Total . . . . .	27

## SUMMARY OF ACCUSATIVES OF RESPECT.

Parts of body, etc. . . . .	22
Heart, mind, spirit, etc. . . . .	16
Abstract ideas . . . . .	8
Other cases . . . . .	<u>4</u>
Total . . . . .	50

## SUMMARY OF ADVERBIAL ACCUSATIVES.

## i. Adjectives and Pronouns.

## 1. Singular.

a. πρῶτον, etc. . . . .	12
b. λοιπόν, etc. . . . .	28
c. τὸ λοιπόν, etc. . . . .	12
d. τό, etc. . . . .	<u>17</u>
	69

## 2. Plural.

a. πολλά, etc. . . . .	28
b. τὰ μέν, etc. . . . .	12
c. ἄτε, etc. . . . .	<u>14</u>
	<u>54</u>
	123

ii. Nouns . . . . .	<u>17</u>
Total . . . . .	140

## SUMMARY OF DOUBLE ACCUSATIVES.

## i. Object and predicate.

## 1. Make.

a. with pred. noun . . . . .	6
b. with pred. adj. . . . .	<u>20</u>
	26
2. Name . . . . .	15
3. Other cases . . . . .	<u>4</u>
	45

## ii. Person and thing.

1. Do to, say of . . . . .	2
2. Deprive . . . . .	3
3. Ask, exact . . . . .	4
4. Teach . . . . .	<u>2</u>
	11

iii. Whole and part . . . . .	2
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iv. Miscellaneous and doubtful . . . . .	<u>5</u>
Total . . . . .	63



## SUMMARY OF ACCUSATIVES DISCUSSED.

i. Direct objects . . . . .	25
ii. Inner objects . . . . .	76
iii. Accusatives of extent of time or space . . . . .	13
iv. Terminal accusatives . . . . .	27
v. Accusatives of respect . . . . .	50
vi. Adverbial accusatives . . . . .	140
vii. Double accusatives . . . . .	63
viii. Proleptic accusatives, etc. . . . .	5
Total . . . . .	399



III. — *Some Observations on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.*

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THE Arch of Trajan at Beneventum well deserves its popular mediaeval name of The Golden Gateway, on account of its fair proportions and the wealth and excellence of its sculptural adornments. It lies, to be sure, somewhat aside from the ordinary route of the popular tourist, but it has no reason to complain of any neglect at the hands of the archaeologist. It figures prominently, as of right, in the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Beneventanarum* (Rome, 1754) of Iohannes De Vita, canon of the cathedral church in Beneventum, and later Bishop of Reate. It forms the nominal subject of the three wearisome volumes on the reign of Trajan by G. C. Rossi (*L' Arco Traiano di Benevento*; Naples, 1816). It occupies an important position in the well-known work of Rossini, *Gli Archi Trionfali*, etc. (Rome, 1836). In later days its treatment fills the first eight fascicles of a useful and well-illustrated work by a Beneventine architect, Almerico Meo-martini (*I Monumenti Antichi e l' Opere d' Arte della Città di Benevento*; Beneventum, 1889 ff.). To it have been dedicated critical articles from the experienced pens of Professor Eugen Petersen of the German Institute in Rome (*Roem. Mitth.*, Vol. VII., 1892, pp. 178-192), and of Professor A. v. Domaszewski of Heidelberg (*Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, Vol. II., 1899, pp. 173-192). Professor Frothingham, of Princeton University, had moulds made of the most of its sculptures in the year 1896, on behalf of the American School in Rome,<sup>1</sup> and has published brief interpretations of the reliefs

<sup>1</sup> At the same time the School had a series of excellent photographic negatives (each about twelve by sixteen inches in size) made of the Arch as a whole and of its individual sculptures. Silver or carbon prints from these negatives can be



of the Arch in the illustrated catalogue of casts for sale by the School, and in a popular article in the *Century Magazine* (Vol. LVI., 1898, pp. 859-865), and is understood to have in preparation an elaborate critical and historical work on the same subject. The historical evidence afforded by the reliefs on the Arch has also been used more or less by writers on other subjects, as by E. Groag (*Die Adoption Hadrians; Röm. Mitth.*, XIV., 1899, pp. 269-279).

But, in spite of all this activity in the study of the Arch and of its reliefs, some even of the main problems connected therewith are by no means yet settled, while some of the subordinate questions may defy satisfactory solution for a long time to come.

The two faces of the Arch are identical in the arrangement of the reliefs. That the reliefs are for the most part not merely fanciful, nor chiefly conventional and decorative in theme and treatment, is also clear at first sight. They plainly refer to actual events and actions in the life of Trajan, whose effigy, sometimes decapitated, appears in all but two of them, one of which is the only one on all the Arch that is substantially defective. That the reliefs, thus representing historic scenes and actions, are not scattered promiscuously over the surface of the Arch, but are arranged with care, on some definite principle, would seem also a safe assumption to make. But what is the principle of order that is observed? That is a question not easily answered. Petersen believes that the eastern (outer) face of the Arch is the principal face (contrary to De Vita and to Rossi), but that there is a certain connection between the pairs of reliefs occupying corresponding positions on either face, the four reliefs of the attica and the four of the lowest of the three principal tiers of reliefs depicting Trajan's extension of the empire by force of arms, — the uppermost tier in the Dacian wars, the lowest tier upon the Rhine and in the East, — while the four reliefs of the middle

purchased on application to the Chairman of the Managing Committee (Professor Andrew F. West, of Princeton University), and a series of heliogravure plates from the same negatives, with accompanying text, was ready for publication in May, 1901, and doubtless may soon be expected to appear.



tier represent his provisions for the rising generation at home. Domaszewski, on the other hand, following in part a suggestion made by De Vita and adopted by Rossi, believes that the inner (western) face is the principal one, and that all its reliefs refer to the services of the emperor to Rome and Italy, while all the reliefs of the outer face refer to his services toward the provinces. Frothingham agrees in the main with Petersen, but believes that the reliefs of the lower tier have reference solely to the war in the East, and not at all to the campaigns upon the Rhine.

My present purpose is to examine briefly the theories of each of these writers on the question of the general system followed in the arrangement of the reliefs, and then to discuss, with equal brevity, some of their interpretations of the individual reliefs.

Domaszewski defends his position, not so much on general lines of argument as by an interpretation of each several relief in accordance with his projected scheme, pointing out how perfectly it fits into its place. Such a mode of treatment has the convenience of brevity, and is abundantly conclusive if it takes into account all the elements in the problem, does not seem to do violence to any of them, especially does not appear to prefer a more artificial or difficult interpretation to the more direct and simple idea that must generally be presumed to have been in the mind of the artist, and finally can make it clear to the critic that no other theory fits the facts equally well. But Domaszewski's general theory of the grouping of the reliefs is at fault in all of these four points. He is clearly laboring not infrequently to force a round peg to fit a square hole in his effort to compel the interpretation of an individual relief into accord with the general theory that he maintains, and can defend only by and through his interpretation of individual reliefs. Take, for example, his treatment of the two reliefs that flank the passage under the Arch, at right and left respectively. These *must* commemorate, so he claims, the benefits conferred by the emperor upon the Beneventines themselves. And hence the one depicts an *alimentatio Italiae*, and not, for example, a *con-*



*giarium*. The other, also, *must* be interpreted in a manner that shows its connection with Beneventum, and *therefore can only* represent a sacrifice offered on the spot by Trajan when he first set foot on the Via Traiana on his way to the Parthian war. Such a system of interpretation has too close a similarity to that system of cosmogony which represents the earth as resting through various intermediaries finally upon the back of a tortoise, and the tortoise upon nothing at all. It is indeed true that some of Domaszewski's interpretations are apparently based on the testimony of photographs which did not do justice to the facts of the reliefs; but any archaeologist who believes that the designer of a Roman arch bent his imagination to a somewhat complex and sustained allegory, instead of following out a simple historical picture-series within the usual lines of more individualized allegorical representation, has very grave difficulties to confront,—especially when the reliefs lend themselves more easily to the more simple line of interpretation in a somewhat chronological series.

I believe that Petersen is essentially right in his scheme of the interrelation of the reliefs, but must venture to dissent from his conclusion concerning the determination of the chief face of the Arch, and therefore from a number of his other points. His main point in favor of making the face toward Brindisi the chief face is that "if the Arch was erected in 115, while the emperor was engaged in the East, and if it was erected to serve as a formal greeting by the Senate to the emperor, who, on his return from Brindisi, would pass through Beneventum, it was surely the outer face that was destined first to be seen." Much is sacrificed in this instance to that little word "if." Nor is there any force other than one of negation in the other fact mentioned by Petersen in support of his theory, that the middle and not the end of the triumphal procession is depicted on this outer face.

Rossi had previously pointed out that the little allegorical figures of the four seasons in the lower corners of the spandrels of the Arch are so arranged that Spring and Summer



stand, to left and right respectively, on the inner face, and Autumn and Winter on the outer face. Petersen waves this consideration aside. But can any one believe that the designer, intending to make, as Petersen thinks, the outer face the initial and principal face of his arch, and to arrange his sculptures in encircling bands, would deliberately put upon the initial face (no other reason intervening) the figures of Autumn and Winter, and relegate those of Spring and Summer to the following place in the sequence?

Domaszewski well pointed out some other considerations in favor of treating the inner as the principal face. The Arch is a *ianus uiae* (as indeed De Vita had previously remarked), and in the case of such arches where the main face can be definitely determined (as in the arches of Ariminum and Ancona), it is the face turned toward the city, the arch being the gateway through which one passes from the city into the road. The suggestions that the inner face must be the principal one in the case of the Arch at Beneventum because it is the face turned toward Rome, and because upon it appears the Capitoline triad of divinities, savour too much of highspun allegorical theory to command much attention.

To these considerations advanced by Rossi and by Domaszewski others might well be added. The spandrels of the inner face are occupied by Victories, those of the outer face by river-gods; and notwithstanding the fact that the latter far excel the former in excellence of execution, there can be no doubt that in a triumphal arch, as this to some degree is, the Victories by their greater dignity of theme lend preëminence to the face on which they are depicted. Again, the more dignified and imposing part of the triumphal procession — its concluding division, in which the emperor himself appears as *triumphator* — is carved upon this face, while upon the other face appears only an unmarked middle portion. It might be reckoned that the beginning of the procession would rank next to the concluding division in interest and importance, and therefore would find a place at least upon the outer face. If it were to be seen there, some would even argue therefrom that the outer was the principal face.



But not even the beginning of the procession (which completely encircles the Arch) could be presented on the outer face without thrusting the culmination of the whole from its post on the inner face, — which thus also appears to be the principal face. And yet again, — as Petersen pointed out, but without using the fact in this way, — all the varied types of figures that appear in the triumphal procession on the other face and on the ends of the arch are here repeated, so as to give an epitome of the entire *pompa* to a spectator looking at this side alone. The inner face, therefore, is clearly treated by the designer as the initial and principal face of the Arch, and here, then, and not, as Petersen and Frothingham think, from the outer face, we have our point of departure.

The exigencies of space require me to pass over the argument, for the most part easy and straightforward, that tends to show that the four reliefs of the attica treat summarily of the second Dacian war. This has been clearly seen by Petersen and Frothingham, but is not acknowledged in full by Domaszewski, into whose general scheme it does not fit. But starting as they do with the outer face of the Arch, Petersen and Frothingham are naturally bound to make the two attica reliefs of the inner face refer to the reception of the victorious emperor in Rome upon his return from Dacia. They have to conceive of the artist as plunging us at once *in medias res*, or at best as giving us the concluding chapters of our historical romance without its introductory chapters. Nowhere on the Arch do they find any reference to the beginning of the war, nor do they attempt in any way to answer the natural question why the Arch, which had no immediate connection in time with the end of the war rather than with the beginning, should give us but the last half of its story. I, on the other hand, who see no other way possible than to take the inner and not the outer face of the Arch as the point of departure, see in the two reliefs of the attica on that face the departure of the emperor for the seat of the war, with the good auguries of both gods and men.

In the relief at the left the Capitoline triad of gods stands



in the foreground, accompanied by four lesser divinities, bidding farewell to Trajan on his departure, and assuring him of their favor and assistance. (On the especial relation of Trajan, above other emperors, to the Capitoline triad, see Aust, in Roscher's *Lexicon*, Vol. II., p. 750.) Trajan does not appear on the relief with them; for to represent even the *princeps optimus* as actually holding converse with the great gods in Rome itself would perhaps be too much for the proprieties of the artistic imagination under any stress short of the personal assurance of a Caligula. The other gods turn toward Jupiter, thus focussing the scene upon the chief divinity, and his significant action. He holds his sceptre in his left hand, resting against his arm, and with his right hand extends his thunderbolt, as if offering it to some one,—of course to the emperor, as is suggested to the mind naturally by the leave-taking depicted in the accompanying panel, toward which Jupiter faces. Were the ruler of gods and men offering his own symbol of accomplished dominion to the victorious emperor on his return from the war,—as Frothingham and Domaszewski suggest,—in token of worldwide sway, one might naturally expect him to proffer the sceptre rather than the thunderbolt. But he offers the thunderbolt as the resistless weapon with which Trajan is to overcome his foes in the approaching war, as by the omnipotent arm of the Thunderer himself.

The subject of the accompanying panel (to the right on the attica of the inner face) is the farewell of the Roman senate and people to the emperor. Trajan stands in the attitude of one turning away from, rather than toward, the gateway that appears in the background at the left. And he stands, moreover, at the extreme right of the scene, and not near its centre, as an approaching traveller (compare the relief of the lowest tier on the inner face, at the right of the arcade, in which Trajan is being welcomed just outside a gateway through which he is clearly about to pass). Nor is it easy to believe that Roma would be so earnestly commending to Trajan her favorite, Hadrian, under circumstances that could be represented in such a relief other than the circumstances



that I believe to be represented here. Hadrian is about to depart with the emperor to the war, — where, indeed, as in the first Dacian war, he served with especial credit, and the emperor seemed to mark him out as the intended successor to the throne by giving him a diamond ring which he had himself received from his predecessor and adoptive father, Nerva (Spart. *Had.* 3. 7). The scene is apparently laid outside of the city-gate, to which senate and people have accompanied Trajan in the formal *prosecutio*, and where they now take leave of him. The gate is apparently the Porta Capena, nor is the victory in the spandrel of its arch any bar in the way of this interpretation. A hundred victorious generals had approached Rome up the Appian road. The gateway is depicted as forming an angle with the wall of masonry that is seen through it, the artist finding the usual difficulty in expressing in low relief the desired effect of the gateway standing at right angles to the immediately adjacent temple-front without, and to the short flanking wall within. The Porta Capena apparently stood at the end of a pair of short, projecting spur-walls (see Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, XXXV.). The adjacent temple of the relief that displays in its pediment a shield charged with a thunderbolt and supported by greaves, and in its frieze a succession of shields and helmets, may well be the Marcellan Temple of Honor and Valor that stood by the Capuan gate on the east side of the road. The tall arch at its right resembles an aqueduct arch, and both the *Aqua Appia* and (in Trajan's time) the *Aqua Marcia* were carried over the road on arches close by the Porta Capena (Front. *Aq.* I. 5; II. 87). The arch may, however, be a part of the portico that led from the Porta Capena to the famous Temple of Mars that stood about a mile further down the road. Space fails me to point out the grave difficulties that beset the attempt to identify this scene with that on the Campus Martius immediately before the emperor's triumph.

Of the two reliefs of the attica on the outer face, the one at the left may be passed over with but brief remark. There seems to be no manner of doubt that the gods of the Danube



lands are here welcoming the emperor to their country and their favor. The gestures are unmistakable. And they are not made, as in the case of Jupiter in the relief a moment ago under discussion, toward the right, where Trajan stands in a closely related scene, but toward the left and the outside of the Arch. But that is precisely where Trajan would be standing, — if he appeared at all in this relief, — facing inward, as in every other relief (so Petersen pointed out) on the faces of the Arch in which he figures. And there could be no so strong objection to the representation of Trajan in the provinces in direct communication with the gods of those subordinate regions, in whose pantheon, indeed, the emperor had found an official place since the time of Augustus. I have no doubt that the figure of Trajan stood on the lost part of the relief.

The gods naturally fall into pairs. The connection of Bacchus and Ceres (or of Liber and Libera) is traditional, and their especial relation to the Danube lands is well substantiated (cf. Domaszewski in the *Wstd. Zeitsch.* for 1892). Though Bacchus and Ceres appear among the Roman gods on the other side of the attica, the type here is apparently discriminated somewhat in features, and in the case of the female divinity by her headdress. Diana and Silvanus are often connected in worship at Rome as elsewhere, and to the many indications of their worship in the Danube lands may be added the inscription from Aquincum published in the *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, Vol. II. (1899), Beibl., p. 53, DIANAE · ET · SIL(*vano*) · SILVE(*stri*) · DIS · PRAESIDIBUS · VENATION(*um*) · M · AVR · POMPEIVS · SACERDOT(*alis*).

The scene of the companion relief on the right (Trajan erecting Dacia into a Roman province) is apparently laid on Dacian soil. The two young river-gods should represent no mighty waters (by no means Euphrates and Tigris, as Domaszewski believes), but smaller and tributary streams, — perhaps the Tibiscus and the Alutus, up the valleys of and between which lay Trajan's chief operations. The Danube itself, though distant from the scene, may possibly be recalled by the bridge in the background at the left (the laws of perspec-



tive must not be too much insisted on), a reminiscence of Trajan's great feat in bridling that unruly stream. Domaszewski is probably led astray by poor photographs in thinking that the man at Trajan's right is not in Roman dress, and that he must be the dashing young Moorish cavalry commander, Lusius Quietus. He is clearly in Roman garb, and he is an old man, — apparently considerably older than Trajan. The circumstances and the type agree (as Frothingham holds) upon Licinius Sura, Trajan's especial paternal friend and senior adviser in the campaign. On the other hand, the man on the bridge, whom Frothingham takes to be D. Terentius Scaurianus, the first governor of the new province, is probably, as Domaszewski thinks, Hadrian, — though the likeness is not so convincing as that in the relief on the attica of the inner face.

To Petersen's admirable analysis of the frieze that depicts the triumphal procession little need be added. In the case, however, of the Dacian cart, which appears several times with two occupants, one of whom, at least, is clearly a Dacian captive of rank, the other occupant appears to me in every case to be, not, as Petersen suggests, another captive, but a man of Roman features and of Roman (military) dress, — apparently a Roman officer in immediate charge of the distinguished captive, with whom he appears to be carrying on a conversation, with explanation of the scenes through which the procession is passing.

In the relief at the left of the middle tier on the inner face of the Arch, that depicts the colonization of Dacia by Roman veterans of Trajan's wars, it seems probable that the five eagles perched on the crossbar of the *uexillum* held by the *uirtus legionum* do not represent either the "army of five legions by which [Dacia] was conquered," as Frothingham suggests, nor yet the five colonies planted by Trajan which Domaszewski enumerates. With regard to the former proposition it needs only to be remarked that Trajan had apparently seven legions in Dacia, and not merely five (see Jung, p. 327, n. 1). With regard to the second suggestion, the *uirtus legionum* is commending to Trajan veterans (as veterans no longer in military,



but in civic garb) who now pass out from under her care altogether. The eagles ought to refer to their past, and not to their future condition, — to mark the quality of the figure holding the standard, and not that of the colonists. Now, of the seven legions engaged in the campaign in Dacia two were left to garrison the province (*XIII. Gemina* and *I. Adiutrix*), and the other five withdrawn. It is from the veterans of these other five that the military colonists of the new province might naturally be drawn, and that fact, I suspect, is the one symbolized in the five eagles.

More difficult to deal with is the relief to the right, in the corresponding position on the other pier of the Arch, which, I am inclined to think, commemorates the marked efforts made by Trajan to increase and assure the grain supplies of the city, and in general the welfare of the *tribus frumentariae*. The three divinities in the background are too far removed in distance and in enthronement from the main scene to be regarded as actively interested in it. Domaszewski must certainly be right in judging that they serve simply, or chiefly, to represent the locality of the scene, the Forum Boarium. The identification of the Apollo at the right with the *Apollo caelispex* of the Regionaries (*Not. et Cur. Reg. XI.*) is indubitable, notwithstanding the lack of further knowledge of that sanctuary or statue. The wreathed Hercules, however (Domaszewski's photograph did not allow him to see the wreath, which is plain enough), is clearly not to be identified with the *Hercules Olivarius*, as Domaszewski suggests; for *Hercules Olivarius* is shown to have been a reclining statue (see Petersen in the *Notiz. d. Scavi*, 1895, pp. 459 ff., and in the *Roem. Mitth.*, XI. (1896), pp. 99 ff.; also E. Loewy in the *Roem. Mitth.*, XII. (1897), pp. 56 ff.), while this Hercules is standing. He might better be referred, then, considering his attitude and order in the group, to the *Hercules Pompeianus* of the temple on the site of the present S. Maria in Cosmedin. The reclining deity to the left is, indeed, a new type. That the object at his left hand is an anchor cannot be doubted. But it is not, as has been thought, projected against the background, as if hung up on air. Its shank lay across and was



supported by the left arm of the divinity, as if the ponderous implement were a mere sceptre. The physical feat managed with such ease might well seem to a modern athlete a sufficient proof of something more than mortal muscle. Domaszewski's photographs seem again to have been at fault in the depiction of the object held in the divinity's right hand, which is clearly not a *clavis* "primitivster Art, einen einfachen Haken zum Verschieben des Riegels," but a long, flexible, cylindrical thing which twists and curls up from the rock, under the folds of drapery, over the elbow, behind the forearm, and finally up through the grasping hand, quite as wrigglingly as Domaszewski declares a serpent ought to do. The youthful beauty of the undraped divinity, and the accompanying serpent, seem to mark him as of the rank rather of a genius than of one of the greater gods. I believe him to be indeed Portunus, as Domaszewski thinks; but that Portunus must always have a key in hand (Fest. *ep.* 56) is no more certain than that Silvanus must always wear a goatskin and carry a pine-branch. As a deity of storehouses Portunus might naturally carry a key; as a deity of harbors, like this one on the Tiber shore, an anchor would seem to be his proper attribute.

With the Forum Boarium and its harbor was most closely connected the administration of the grain supplies of the city. Indeed, the *statio annonae* stood in immediate relation to the temple of the Pompeian Hercules suggested by the central of the three divinities pictured on this panel. Trajan's activity was not more marked in promoting any business or benevolent enterprise of the city than in fostering this public industry. The general welfare of the *tribus frumentariae* had been one of his first cares as emperor (cf. Plin. *Pan.* 29 ff.); in their behalf he had greatly increased the usual donatives (cf. Plin. *Pan.*, and below); for them he had even surrendered his prejudice against gilds, and had established a corporation of bakers (cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 12. 5); and his good offices were most gratefully acknowledged by the *tribus* in, for example, an inscription that was found near this very place (*C.I.L.* VI. 955; Dessau, 286). It would seem very likely, therefore, that the three men whom Trajan is addressing, or to whom he is listen-



ing, in this relief represent the tribes, rather than, as Domaszewski thinks, simply *negotiatores*. In no way would the tribes be more naturally depicted under such general circumstances than, as here, by three men in the toga, of different ages.

Frothingham is undoubtedly right in holding that the upper relief on the left pier of the outer face commemorates the up-building of the army by new recruits. If Domaszewski's photographs had been more truthful, he would undoubtedly have recognized that the divinely beautiful military figure in the centre of the foreground is holding a T-shaped measuring rod over the head of the new recruit, who stands rigidly erect before him, with bare feet placed closely together. The entire outline of the arm of the *dilectator* is clearly to be seen in the low relief of the background, only the fingers, which were turned straight out toward the spectator, and the larger part of the horizontal arm of the measuring rod, which was also carved in the round, having been lost. In the rear at the right stands the *virtus legionum* (holding a *uexillum*), as the deity most intimately concerned in the strengthening of the army. Before her stands a centurion, with traces of his vine-rod yet visible in his left hand. He has brought the recruit to the official inspection, and stands ready to take charge of him after it is concluded.

The marking of the enrolment by the measurement of the recruits would seem to show that under Trajan took place that modification in the constitution of the troops that had been assigned to about this period from a different course of reasoning. With the surrender of insistence upon Italian nationality came in greater attention to other requirements, among them to that of proper stature. In the time of Vegetius (Veg. I. 5), a recruit, to be enrolled in the more important squadrons or cohorts, must measure five feet and ten inches (Roman: about five feet and eight inches, English): in 367 A.D. the standard height was five feet and seven inches (Cod. Theod. VII. 13. 3).

Domaszewski is bound by his general theory to insist that this relief and its companion on the other side of the arch-opening must represent scenes outside of Italy, and in sup-



port of that contention cites the fact that the emperor appears in both of these reliefs in military costume, while in Italy, as he affirms, even soldiers wore constantly civil dress. But in the two reliefs below these, the scene of which is indisputably laid outside of Italy, Trajan wears the toga, and in the relief under the arcade representing the *congiarium*,—or, as Domaszewski thinks it, the *alimentatio Italiae*,—Trajan is in military costume! To the former of these awkward facts Domaszewski replies that the scene is there sufficiently characterized by other elements as outside of Italy, and the emperor does not need to be represented in military garb in order to make the interpretation clear! And yet Domaszewski had claimed that the costume of the emperor in the other instances corresponded to a necessarily recognized fact. The unsatisfactory character of the canon of criticism is seen from the necessity of allowing such weak exceptions to its scope. And furthermore, in one of the reliefs of the attica, already mentioned, Hadrian appears in military full-dress at the gates of Rome,—a fact which must demand the allowance of another class of exceptions to the proposed canon.

The reason for the military garb of the emperor in the relief of the enrolment, even though the scene is laid within the boundaries of Italy, is that the act depicted is a purely military one. In the accompanying relief, too, which I believe to represent the *alimentatio Italiae*, the purpose of the institution is at least half military. For, as Pliny said (*Pan.* 28) of, perhaps, the provisions that were the forerunners of these, the children reared from Trajan's bounty were to be *subsidium bellorum, ornamentum pacis . . . ex his castra, ex his tribus replebuntur.* Petersen's interpretation of the relief must assuredly be correct. Of the suggested difficulty (found by Domaszewski and apparently acknowledged by Frothingham) of an apparent duplication in this of the scene presented in one of the two reliefs that flank the arcade, I will speak later. Concerning the other difficulty suggested by Domaszewski, that there is no reason why Italy should be represented as holding the plough, it might be remarked that in this detail, and in that of the children rising from, or



standing on, ploughed ground, there is an especial fitness from the especial circumstances of Trajan's *alimentatio*, which was of a double bearing. He provided an assured income for the *alimenta*, and he did it by measures that at the same time encouraged agriculture throughout Italy. Nerva had set on foot such provisions (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 12. 4), and Trajan developed and established them by means of permanent loans at a low rate of interest upon farm-lands (see Wilmanns, *Exempl. Inscr. Lat.* 2844, 2845; Eckhel, VI., pp. 424 ff.). The identification of Mars Pater, and of Copia, as two of the propitiously attendant divinities, is sufficiently clear. The third, who stands behind the emperor, and in face and diadem resembles Copia, may well be Felicitas, who appears in similar guise on coins of the *gens Lollia*. Thus the deities of peace and of war are equally interested in the rearing of the children (Plin. *Pan. l.c.*).

The four reliefs of the lowest tier I believe Frothingham is right in connecting entirely with the war in the East. But to say nothing of the error that appears to me to inhere in making the outer face of the Arch the chronological starting-point, there is an accessory difficulty in Frothingham's assignment of the left rather than the right one of the given pair of reliefs as the concluding relief of the series. Such an inversion of the natural order from left to right, and of the order followed everywhere else on the Arch according even to Frothingham's own belief, might well have given the critic pause.

The question of the chronology of these last years of Trajan's life is, and bids fair to remain, a difficult one. Domaszewski does not hesitate to assign his own interpretation to the testimony of the Arch concerning the Eastern campaigns, and then to correct the dates of the chroniclers on the basis of the testimony of the Arch. Such a course of procedure is at best a dangerous one to pursue, and demands great caution, if not the definite support of other and independent evidence. I am inclined to believe, however, on the comparison of literary and epigraphic evidence with that of this monument, that Trajan left Rome for the East in the



autumn of 113 A.D., arrived at Antioch by way of Athens and Seleucia on the seventh of January, 114 A.D., took the field in the spring of that same year, and completed the adjustment of the affairs of at least Lesser Armenia before retiring to Antioch for the winter of 114-115 A.D.

That the departure of Trajan on such an important expedition as that to the East, with the understood purpose of humbling those most powerful foes of Rome, the Parthians, and of extending the Roman dominion eastward as he had extended it beyond the Danube, should be commemorated on the Arch is most natural, not to say necessary. That the Arch would be completed before more than the preliminary accounts and brief official despatches had arrived from the seat of war announcing the hopeful events of the first season appears most probable. Accordingly I believe that the four reliefs of the lowest tier start with the departure of the emperor for the East, and end with the last event of decisive importance that had reached the knowledge of the Beneventines from the year 114.

The leave-taking of Trajan for the Dacian war could not, of course, be duplicated here for the Parthian war. Another design was necessary. Accordingly we have here, in the lowest relief at the left of the inner face of the Arch, the *vota pro itu ac reditu* offered in the Roman Forum by the representatives of the people of Italy, — and this in spite of the absence of an altar. Petersen's sagacious eye has duly recognized the locality as before the doors of the senate-house, and the imposing garlanded and bearded figure in the centre of the foreground as the personification of the *Senatus* itself, while the *Genius Populi Romani* is represented by the younger figure at the right, half-draped, with flowing locks, supporting a horn of plenty on his left arm, and holding a (lost) *patra* in his right hand. Yet of course Petersen holds a very different theory from mine concerning the scene in general. The greatest difficulty is found in the identification of the togated figure in the foreground at the left, who wears a mural crown, and carries upon a beribboned spear a laurel wreath like those that often decorate standards. Petersen



takes this personage to be the *ordo equester*, but without showing why the *ordo equester* should wear a mural crown. Certain other grave difficulties in the way of the proposed identification I must pass over for want of space (why, for example, should the *ordo equester* of Rome carry the golden symbol that was the gift of the municipalities of Italy outside of Rome? Domaszewski's explanation leaves doubt still in the mind). The identification may be the true one. But I should like to suggest that the figure may represent the veterans of the army, who, now in citizen's garb, but bearing the gifts that commemorate their former valorous achievements, join with Senate and People in vows for the success of the commander under whom they had themselves marched to victory. The six figures in the background, who appear a trifle ruder in face (and perhaps in garb?) than the Romans depicted elsewhere on the Arch, probably represent, as Domaszewski thinks, the municipal senates of Italy, who share in the vows of the Romans and of the veterans.

The companion relief on the other pier of the Arch will accordingly represent Trajan's formal entry into Antioch, as the first prominent scene of his activity on Asiatic soil. Twelve lictors accompany him. The figure in the toga who escorts and invites him to enter the city-gate is doubtless the governor of the province of Syria, of which Antioch was the capital.

On the outer face of the Arch, and in the lowest tier, appear the two most significant scenes of the active campaign of the year. On taking the field in the spring of the year 114 A.D. Trajan first made himself master of Samosata, and thence marched to Satala, in Lesser Armenia, where he was met by the kings of several of the smaller states of the Caucasus region, who came to assure him of their allegiance and assistance (Dio, LXVIII. 18. 3; Eutrop. *Epit.* VIII. 3. 1). The relief at the left of the arcade shows four of these bearded chieftains advancing from the right to lay their right hands, one by one, in the right hand of Trajan, and swear allegiance. The (unfortunately headless) emperor is attended on this formal occasion by his twelve lictors, and is supported



by the (presumably unseen) presence of Jupiter himself, the guardian of oaths (*Iuppiter Lapis*), who stands between the contracting parties, but shows his partisan sympathy for the Roman emperor by apparently encircling him with his right arm (as Mars Pater embraces Italia in the relief of the *alimentatio*), and by facing, like him, the barbarian chieftains (cf. the attitude of Pallas in the Munich reliefs from the Aegina temple). The object held in Jupiter's left hand is apparently not the thunderbolt (though it needs renewed inspection in the original), which shows a very different form in the relief of the attica. It appears rather to imitate in its markings the conchoidal fractures of a chipped flint, or the convexly fused surface of a meteoric stone, and to be sharpened down to the edge and tapering point of a knife. I suspect it to be the sacrificial knife of stone, the symbol and embodiment of *Iuppiter Lapis*, which was perhaps identical with the stone of the oath (cf. Fest., p. 115; Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. *Iuppiter Lapis*).

The last relief of the exterior of the Arch, that in the lowest tier of the outer face at the right of the arcade, shows Trajan finally rejecting the overtures of Parthamasiris, the Parthian pretender to the throne of Armenia. The Parthian nationality, and the princely rank, of the young man at the left, who is listening to Trajan's words with no contented aspect and attitude, are marked by his lion-skin headdress, the proper attribute of Hercules, the popular deity of the Parthians, and by his horse, which is held by his attendant at the right. After receiving the kings of the Caucasus region in Satala, Trajan marched to Elegeia, where Parthamasiris, who had abated somewhat of his former arrogance, was admitted to a personal interview. The pretender offered, and even asked, to receive the crown of Armenia from the hands of Trajan, but his request was sternly rejected, and he was acquainted with the emperor's fixed purpose to make Armenia a Roman province. The absence of any indication of the picturesque details mentioned by Dio (LXVIII. 19, 20) is naturally explicable on the reasonable supposition that only the briefest formal account of the event had reached Italy



when this relief was to be executed, and the artist was left to picture the scene, — as perhaps also in the case of the preceding relief, — according to his own imagination. There seems to be no sufficient reason to suppose that the Beneventines had yet even heard of the trick-horse mentioned by Dio (LXVIII. 18), to the presentation of which Petersen, followed by Domaszewski, supposes this relief to refer. And even if they had, to introduce that scene would be to thrust a mere triviality into the midst of a series of dignified and important actions. Such a reference, moreover, is not supported by the attitude of the horse, and is contradicted by the fact that here only one chieftain appears (the other non-Roman persons are clearly attendants). And the aspect of the strangers themselves indicates no pleasant reception. And finally, as I have indicated, the visits referred to by Dio in that passage are represented in the previous relief.

The two reliefs of the passageway are decidedly inferior in design and in execution to the other reliefs of the Arch. And in subject they are of formal type, though one of them (the one on the northern side) shows some unusual, though explicable elements. It must doubtless be interpreted to represent a *congiarium*, as Petersen and Frothingham take it, though the former is troubled by the (to him) inexplicable presence of children as recipients of the bounty, a difficulty which the latter does not touch upon. Domaszewski dissents, mainly on the ground that more than one city seems to be depicted (by the female figures in mural crowns), and that children are represented as receiving the gifts. On the latter point it may be remarked that though the *congiarium* was regularly given only to those persons who were entitled to share in the public distributions of grain, and consequently not to children below the twelfth year (Suet. *Aug.* 41), yet, as in the case of the *ius trium liberorum*, exceptions were by no means unknown. Augustus, for example, gave the *congiarium* to children of more tender years (Suet. *l.c.*; Dio LI. 21), and other emperors were no more strict than he. That Trajan gave the *congiarium* to children is clear from Plin. *Pan.* 26. That point in the relief need, then, occasion no doubt. A more difficult point is that



connected with the presence of the group of three females wearing mural crowns, in addition to the one both crowned and veiled who stands immediately behind the table on which the gifts rest, and seems to be commending to the emperor the applicants for his bounty. She must be Rome herself, her special dignity being marked by her action and by her veil. Petersen and Frothingham leave the interpretation of the other three female figures untouched. I believe them to represent the *tribus frumentariae*, and the scene to be, if not the especial *congiarium* described by Pliny (*Pan. l.c.*) as connected with the enrolment of nearly five thousand freeborn children (*Pan. 28*) in the *populum qui frumentum accipit*, a scene like it in character. Pliny implies that the *congiarium* he describes is not to be the last of its kind. The *tribus* are, to be sure, represented by three men in the relief of the inner face of the Arch. But elsewhere on the Arch the same conception is depicted in different ways. And in these two reliefs both the circumstances and the artists are different. Here we have to do with the *tribus* as the mothers and trainers of children, and the standing of the three figures in this respect is indicated by the infant that one of them holds on her arm.

The passage from the Panegyric deserves careful attention. Pliny describes a *congiarium*, but a *congiarium* in which, or in this day's division of which, only children shared. There was the usual distribution of gifts, but there was also a previous enrolment that looked toward the future; and the gifts thus assured were sufficient to contribute an important part toward the bringing up of the children who were fortunate enough to be admitted to the lists. The gifts were thus not merely *congiaria*; they were, as Pliny says, *alimenta*, from which, as new citizens of Rome, the children were to be nourished. The reference is doubtless, as I have already said, to the admission of the children to the number of the persons regularly sharing in the public distribution of grain, and so, by established precedent, admitted also to a share in *congiaria*. The children thus favored might be young enough to be carried upon their fathers' shoulders (precisely as in this relief), but they must be old enough to speak intelligently in asking



the emperor by themselves for his bounty. Some who were so young that they could only, parrotlike, repeat the form of words taught them by their ambitious and anxious parents for the occasion were rejected till another time. (On children of tender years sharing by special gift of the emperor in the distribution of *frumentum publicum* cf. *C.I.L.* VI. 10,220-10,228.)

On the relief on the other side of the passageway that depicts the imperial sacrifice I need to remark only that the imposing bearded figure in the toga, holding a roll in his hand, who stands immediately behind the kneeling *victimarius*, doubtless represents, as Petersen says, the *Senatus*; but the *Populus* is apparently personified, not by the mutilated figure behind the veiled emperor, but by the youthful figure at the immediate left of the *Senatus*. With these two figures in this guise and relative position may be compared the two similar figures receiving an emperor at the gate of Rome in the relief of Hadrian's time now on the stairway of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Helbig, No. 547 (41)).



IV. — *A Misunderstood Passage in Aeschylus.*

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THE chief purpose of this paper is to prove that the traditional interpretation of *Prometheus* 119 (ὀράτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτον θεόν) is incorrect. Wecklein<sup>1</sup> remarks: "The imperative has the sense of ὀρᾶν πάρα." Sikes and Willson in their school edition (Macmillan, 1898) tacitly accept Wecklein's interpretation, since on moot points it is their practice to cite the work, if they approve, and to point out the divergencies, if they take issue with the German scholar. In the preface they declare that they have examined this edition "both in the original and in Allen's translation." More, in his version<sup>2</sup> (which bears evidence of a careful comparison of texts and of commentaries), renders "Behold me fettered, the god ill-fated." These citations are sufficient to show that ὀράτε is generally understood to be an imperative, equivalent to ὀρᾶν πάρα;<sup>3</sup> and nowhere have I been able to find a different explanation. Nevertheless, it is not to be inferred that such a conception of the passage is universal, or has even gone unchallenged down to the present day, any more than that ἐραυνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν (John, V. 39) is universally regarded as meaning "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life," simply because the Authorized Version translates it so, many (if not most) graduates of theological seminaries from the pulpit preach it so, and the Revised Version fails to state dogmatically that it is not so. The parallel is a good one, since the mistakes are identical in character. A graduate of one of the most renowned seminaries in the country recently took the passage just quoted for his text and exhorted his congregation to read their Bibles more, because this injunction

<sup>1</sup> Allen's translation.<sup>2</sup> Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899.<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ag.* 1354 ὀρᾶν πάρεστιν, *Cho.* 253 ἰδεῖν πάρεστι, 961 πάρα . . . ἰδεῖν.



was laid upon them by Christ himself. Yet in a book dedicated to Charles II. (written in 1675) by a member of a sect that is generally supposed to have despised learning at that time, I read these words: "Moreover, that place may be taken in the indicative mood, Ye search the scriptures; which interpretation the Greek word will bear, and so Pasor translateth it: which by the reproof following seemeth also to be the more genuine interpretation, as Cyrillus long ago hath observed."<sup>1</sup> But the average student, as well as the layman, is wont to follow tradition, even if he stultifies himself by making a perfectly clear and intelligible passage pointless by his interpretation. That errors are often perpetuated simply because the writer, or teacher, will not think for himself might be shown by numerous examples. In Lysias, I. 18, *μύλωνα* appears even in the *editio altera aucta et emendata* of the Teubner series (Scheibe). Some of the more ancient writers may have pointed out that the verb in our Aeschylean passage is not imperative, but it is a more difficult matter to prove this for *ὁρᾶτε* than for *ἐραυνᾶτε*, since the former makes good sense as commonly interpreted, the latter nonsense.

But it is not sufficient to say that it makes good sense; the critic must ask himself the question: "Is it the Aeschylean sense?"

In the first place, it would never have occurred to me to take *ὁρᾶτε* as imperative, if my attention had not been called to the matter by the annotators and translators—from the tenor of the passage I do not expect an imperative. From the time Prometheus utters the exclamation *ἄ ἄ* till he says *ὁρᾶτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτμον θεόν* his mood, or rather moods, are clearly marked, both by metre and by word: *τίς ἄχῳ, τίς ὀδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής* (surprise and anticipation) *ἵκετο τερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον* (emotional excitement) *πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός, ἧ τί δὴ θέλων* (strong emotion produced by the thought of a possible sympathizing witness—observe the long vowels in which feeling is wont to dwell), and then comes the verse in question, which apprises the unknown visitor of the facts.

<sup>1</sup> *An Apology to the True Christian Divinity*, written in Latin and English, by Robert Barclay (pp. 91 ff.).



In that announcement Prometheus appeals to the strangers' pity: "Whoever you are and whatever your object, ye see in me a god ill-starred in bonds." The succeeding verses are in perfect consonance with this interpretation, and the pathos and beauty of the passage are certainly enhanced by this rendition.

Wecklein has totally misconceived the attitude of Prometheus toward the newcomer. The feeling of anger and indignation finds no lodgement in the sufferer's heart at this moment. *Cadit ira metu*. Nor does Prometheus regard his visitor as "unwelcome." His emotions are wonder and fear. He is nervous. The Oceanids observe this and, accordingly, their first words are words of comfort and encouragement. They desire to allay his fear. The sufferer is bespeaking compassion (cf. 246) of a *φιλία τάξις* (if haply such the stranger be). He is not indignantly summoning them to gaze upon a god ignominiously treated. The tense of the verb alone indicates that this is the feeling with which Prometheus says *ὀράτε*. Not until he has been reassured by the kind words of his sympathizers does the Titan's mood change (and in this the poet's representation is psychologically correct), when in tones of mingled plaint and indignation (with the *aorist*) he says *δέρχθητ', ἐσίδεσθ' οἷφ' δέσμφ' | προσπορπατὸς τῆσδε φάραγγος | σκοπελοῖς ἐν ἀκροῖς | φρουρὰν ἄζηλον ὀχῆσω* (141 ff.). Nor does he, when addressing the chorus, ever use any other tense than the *aorist* (273, 274). Furthermore, Prometheus employs practically the same words (*πόνων ἐμῶν ἥκεις ἐπόπτης*) when he speaks to his friend and sympathizer, Oceanus (298); but he does not feel that the latter has come *τερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον* to gloat over the torments of the fettered Titan. He has come, it is true, to gaze upon the sufferings of the ill-fated god (cf. *θεωρός* in 118), but to feel for and with him — *θεωρήσων τύχας ἐμὰς ἀφίξαι καὶ συνασχαλῶν κακοῖς*. Then he says *δέρκον θέαμα*, where both the present and the imperative are in place.

An exact parallel to the verse under discussion is found in 612, where Prometheus makes himself known to Io: *πυρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὀρᾶς Προμηθέα*. The mood is determined by the number. If the plural had been used, it might well have



been taken as an imperative (cf. 69). Compare Aristophanes, *Lys.* 412 (ὁρᾶτε μὲν με δεόμενον σωτηρίας). If ὁρᾶτε is imperative in *Prometheus* 119, it is the only example in Aeschylus, whereas the aorist is frequent: ἴδετε (*Cho.* 406, *Scpt.* 111), ἴδεσθε (*Cho.* 973, 980), ἰδοῦ (*Cho.* 231, 247), ἰδέ (*Suppl.* 349 ἰδέ με τὰν ἰκέτιν), ἰδέσθω (*Suppl.* 103), ἰδώμεθα (*Eum.* 142), μῆδ' ἴδῃς (*Suppl.* 424 — naturally, by reason of the neg.). So with the optative: ἴδοιμι (*P.V.* 973, *Cho.* 167), ἴδοιτο (*Suppl.* 209), ἴδοισθε (*P.V.* 895). The indicative ὁρᾶτε occurs frequently (*P.V.* 674, *Ag.* 1217, *Cho.* 1034). The singular is found occasionally of intellectual perception (*P.V.* 997 ὅρα νῦν εἴ σοι ταῦτ' ἄρωγὰ φαίνεται, *Eum.* 255 ὅρα ὅρα μάλ' αὖ . . . μὴ λάθῃ, 652 πῶς γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τοῦδ' ὑπερδικεῖς ὅρα, *Cho.* 924 ὅρα, φύλαξαι μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας). The only example of ὅρα in Aeschylus of actual perception is *Eum.* 103 ὅρα δὲ πληγὰς τάσδε καρδίας ὄθεν, but that example speaks volumes for the nature of the present imperative of this verb.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, the behavior of ὁρᾶν in general, in the imperative (cf. the common ἰδοῦ and φέρ' ἴδω), is similar to that of many verbs in the optative, that is to say, they are used regularly with one tense (present or aorist — the character of the verb determines) unless a special point is to be made by the unusual tense, and it is these shifts, this rarity of usage, that gives the beauty to those particular passages. Some verbs are never found in both tenses. When one wishes for the attainment of an action the aorist is employed. So almost always δοίης, but Sophocles *O.C.* 642 διδοίης. In the beginning of the *Equites* of Aristophanes we read Παφλαγὸνα . . . ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί, and *Lys.* 757 κακῶς ἀπόλοιο, 887 ἐξόλοιο, but the present optative of ἀπολλύναι is never found. The same may be said of the simple verb: ὄλοιτο (*Eur. Med.* 83, 659, *Ion* 704, *Phoen.* 350, [*Rhes.*] 720, 875, 906), ὄλοισθε (*Med.* 114), ὀλέσειαν (*Phoen.* 152), ὄλοιο (*Rhes.* 772, *Soph. El.* 292, *Phil.* 1019), but never ὀλλύοιτο. Similarly we find μισοῖεν regularly, but in Euripides, *Or.* 130 μισήσειαν, and

<sup>1</sup> Look! in this place ran Cassius' dagger through:  
See, what a rent the envious Casca made:  
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabbed.



in Antiphon, I. 13 *δίκη κυβερνήσειεν*, where we should expect *κυβερνήη*. Likewise *γένοιο* and *γένοιτο* are exceedingly common, whereas *γίγνοιτο* and *γίγνοιο* are extremely rare. Compare *θάνοιμι* Eur. *Ion* 763. On the other hand *χαίρω* is regularly found in the present in the optative. So, too, in the imperative (Ar. *Pax* 338 *χαίρετε καὶ βοᾶτε καὶ γελᾶτε*).

If *ὄρατε* in the one hundred and nineteenth verse of the *Prometheus* be imperative, it is not only the sole example in Aeschylus, but also the only instance in the whole range of classical Greek literature, with the exception of a few examples used in a special sense, like the rare optatives just mentioned.

Neither *ὄρα* nor *ὄρατε* occurs in Homer, but *ἰδέ* (*ἴδε*) is found in *θ* 443, *χ* 233, *P* 179, and *ἴδεσθε* in *Ψ* 469. In the lyric poets *ὄρατε* does not appear. The indicative is found in Solon, IX. 7. In Sophocles the indicative *ὄρατε* occurs in *Electra* 1228 and *Trach.* 1080 (where *πάντες* is added and *ἰδοῦ*, *θεᾶσθε* precede). The singular *ὄρα* appears several times, but not in the sense of "behold." In *O.C.* 117, 587, 654, and 1167 *ὄρα* is used exactly as it is in Demosthenes, *Leptines*, 84 (*ὄρα δὴ σκόπει*), synonymously with *σκόπει*. So often in Plato. In *Electra* 925 there is no direct object, and we should expect the present (*ἐς κείνόν γ' ὄρα*), while the examples in 945, 1003, *Phil.* 519 and 833 are all of intellectual perception. But in *Ajax* 351, where Sophocles has occasion to use the imperative, he employs the aorist (*ἴδεσθ' μ' οἶον ἄρτι κύμα φοινίας ὑπὸ ζάλῃς | ἀμφίδρομον κυκλείται*).<sup>1</sup>

Euripides has many examples of the aorist imperative, as *Hec.* 808 *ἰδοῦ με κἀνάθρησον οὔ ἔχω κακά*, *H.F.* 1029 *ἴδεσθε*, *I.T.* 1252 *κατίδετε ἴδετε τὰν ὀλομέναν γυναῖκα*, 1279 *ἴδεσθε τὴν πανούργον*, *Or.* 147 *ἴδ' ἀτρεμαῖον ὥς ὑπόφορον | φέρω βοάν*. The same may be said of the optative: *Hec.* 1292 *ἴδοιμεν*, *Cycl.* 437 *εἰ γὰρ τήνδ' ἴδοιμεν ἡμέραν*, *Med.* 920 *ἴδοιμι δ' ὑμᾶς εὐτραφεῖς*, *Or.* 798 *μήδ' ἴδοιμι μνήμα*. The indicative *ὄρατε* is frequent: *H.F.* 508 (which is parallel to the Aeschylean passage) *ὄρατε μ' ὅσπερ ἡ περίβλεπτος βροτοῖς | ὀνομαστὰ πρᾶσσω, καὶ μ' ἀφείλεθ' ἡ τύχη | ὅσπερ πτερὸν πρὸς αἰθέρ'*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 796 *ὄρατε ὅσον καὶ τοῦτο δῆτα κερδανεῖς*;



ἡμέρα μᾶ (= ὁρᾶτε ὡς ἐγώ), *I.A.* 1259, 1592, *I.T.* 267, 1065, 1298, *Ion* 1090, *Or.* 273. In *Ion* 1553 we have no difficulty in determining the mood, for the negative settles the question once for all: οὐ γὰρ πολεμῖαν με λεύσσετε. Although a synonym of ὁρᾶτε is used, the resemblance to the *Prometheus* passage is striking. In *H.F.* 1072 ὁρᾶτε is used absolutely, like the frequent ὄρα in the *Oedipus Coloneus*. Many examples might be cited from Euripides where the plural (so far as the sense is concerned) might have been taken for an imperative, as *Hec.* 1115 εἰσορᾶς ἃ πάσχομεν; *H.F.* 1117 ὁρᾶς γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰ φρονῶν ἤδη κυρεῖς, *Ion* 1337 ὁρᾶς τόδ' ἄγγος. Examples of ὄρα μὴ are *Ion* 1523, *Or.* 208, [*Rhes.*] 570. In *Cyclops* 354 ὄρα τάδε and in *Phoen.* 118 εἰσόρα τὸν πρῶτον are found the only present imperatives of this verb (actual perception) in Euripides.

In Aristophanes, *Pax* 327 ff., we have a good illustration of the difference between the two tenses: ἦν ἰδοῦ, καὶ δὴ πέπαυμαι . . . ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτ', οὐπω πέπαυσθε. The remaining indicatives are *Eg.* 67 ὁρᾶτε τὴν Ἑλλαν; *Nub.* 1326, *Pax* 264, ὁρᾶτε τὸν κίνδυνον ὡς μέγας, 891 ὁρᾶτ' ὀπτάνιον ὑμῖν ὡς καλόν. In *Lys.* 837 and *Plut.* 215 the verb is used absolutely. The imperative seems to occur in *Achar.* 1227, but, if the mood is not indicative, it is to be explained as *Pax* 887 βουλῇ, πρυτάνεις, ὁρᾶτε τὴν Θεωρίαν, where the present is peculiarly appropriate. Moreover, for metrical reasons alone we should expect to find ὄρα and ὁρᾶτε in a writer like Aristophanes more frequently than ἰδέ and ἴδετε (*ιδού* and *ἴδεσθε*, used by Homer and Aeschylus, being excluded by the exigencies of the style), whereas the present imperative in prose, as we shall see, is used but once, and there for a special reason. The examples of ὄρα in Aristophanes are *Vesp.* 799 ὄρα τὸ χρῆμα (= *eccere*, *just think*), 1493 κατὰ σαυτὸν ὄρα, *Av.* 651 ὄρα ὡς, *Eccl.* 300 ὄρα ὅπως.

So much for the poets. Of the prose writers Herodotus and Thucydides furnish very few examples of either ὄρα or ὁρᾶτε. All<sup>1</sup> are indicative (ὁρᾶτε *Hdt.* III. 137, IV. 139<sup>2</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Actual perception.

<sup>2</sup> If the verb were plural in VII. 5 (ὁρᾶς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεός) the tendency would doubtless be to consider the mood imperative.



ὄρα ὅπως III. 36; ὄρα νυν (*consider now*) III. 134; ὁράτε Thuc. I. 68, 3, V. 87; ὁράτε ὅπως μή III. 57, 1; ὅτῳ τρόπῳ VI. 33, 3).

When we come to the philosophers we have a different tale to tell. In Plato examples of ὄρα and ὁράτε are particularly abundant. The prettiest illustration in all his works — indeed, in all Greek works — of the distinction made in the use of the tenses of this verb in the imperative mood is afforded by a passage in the *Republic* (514 A and B). It is in the famous allegory of the cave: ἰδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρώπους οἶον ἐν καταγείῳ οἰκῇσει σπηλαιώδει . . . μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἐπάνω ὁδόν, παρ' ἣν ἰδὲ τειχίον παρῳκοδομημένον. . . . Ὅρα τοίνυν παρὰ τοῦτο τὸ τειχίον φέροντας ἀνθρώπους σκεύη τε παντοδαπὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ τειχίου καὶ ἀνδριάντας. The speaker bids his friend visualize the scene; but the first object to which he directs his attention is a fixed group, the second a fixed wall (hence ἰδέ in both instances), but the third consists of a succession of figures (ἀνθρώπους φέροντας σκεύη, hence the present ὄρα). The aorist occurs also in 434 A, *Alcib.* 132 E ἰδὲ σαντόν, *Phaedo* 72 A. So the first person ἴδω *Rep.* 457 C, ἴδωμεν 603 C, *Leg.* 976 C, *Charm.* 172 C, *Gorg.* 455 A. An excellent example of ὄρα (as distinguished from ἰδέ of mental perception) is *Rep.* 432 C ὄρα οὖν καὶ προθυμοῦ κατιδεῖν. In the first verb the effort is expressed by the tense; in the second by the verb itself (*προθυμοῦ*), and so the aorist of the first verb is employed as a complement. This use of ὄρα is naturally frequent in Plato: *Rep.* 358 D, 416 D, 613 E, *Alcib.* 115 C (ὄρα εἰ), 121 B, II *Alcib.* 139 D (ὄρα μή), *Rep.* 596 A (ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὄρα), *Alcib.* 117 C (ὄρα καὶ σὺ κοινῇ), 104 C, II *Alcib.* 145 A, *Rep.* 596 B, *Laches* 188 C (τόνδε ὄρα ὅπως ἔχει). Likewise the dual, *Euthydemus* 274 A (ἀλλ' ὁράτον, ὦ Εὐθύδημέ τε καὶ Διονυσόδωρα, εἰ ἀληθῆ ἐλέγετον), and the plural, *Symposium* 192 E ὁράτε εἰ τούτου ἐράτε, *Laches* 187 D, *Rep.* 642 A.

One might be inclined to think that the reason why ὁράτε is so rare is that the occasions for using the word in this form are comparatively unfrequent, whereas the singular ὄρα would be much commoner. In Xenophon, however, ὄρα occurs only twice: *Cyropaedia* III. 1, 27 ὄρα μή (bis) and ὄρα



εἰ V. 4, 33. The plural, on the other hand, is abundant: *Cyrop.* II. 1, 18 (ὀράτε τὰ ὄπλα), III. 2, 12 (νῦν δὲ ὀράτε δὴ ἐν οἴῳ ἐστέ), V. 1, 10 (αὐτοὶ ὀράτε), IV. 1, 15 (ὀράτε μὴ), IV. 2, 26 (ὀράτε ὅπως), IV. 5, 3 (αὐτοὶ ὀράτε), IV. 5, 44; IV. 5, 46; VII. 1, 22; VII. 5, 43; *Symposium* VIII. 3; *Anab.* I. 3, 16; III. 2, 4; III. 2, 29; III. 5, 5; IV. 6, 7; V. 2, 10 (τάδε ὀράτε· εἰ μὲν κτέ); V. 6, 21; V. 6, 28; VI. 5, 16 (ὀράτε πότερον). All of these are indicative except those followed by μὴ, ὅπως, εἰ, and πότερον.

In the orators there is not a single example of ὀράτε imperative. Lysias has eight of the indicative (XVI. 12, XIX. 2, XX. 3, XXI. 13, XXIV. 14, XXV. 34, XXXI. 12, *Fr.* 70) and two of the subjunctive ὀράτε (XXVIII. 2, XXX. 33), but none of the singular ὄρα. The plural occurs but twice in Isaeus (IV. 15 and V. 39), and both are indicative. Demosthenes has seven examples of ὄρα and twelve of ὀράτε (intellectual perception). The indicative of actual perception occurs XXI. 189, XLV. 70, and of mental perception XXIII. 106. As a synonym of σκόπει, ὄρα is often found in Demosthenes, *e.g.*, ὄρα δ' οὕτωςι (XX. 21), ὄρα δὴ καὶ σκόπει (XX. 84). The latter (σκόπει) is almost as peculiar in its behavior as παῦε and παῦσαι, almost as regular as ἴδετε and ὀράτε, that is to say, the singular imperative is usually present, whereas the plural is, as a rule, in the aorist; σκοπεῖτε is rare, but σκέψασθε exceedingly common (Thuc. III. 47, 1; 57, 5; 57, 7; Ar. *Pax* 888; Isae. IV. 9, IX. 4, 30, 36; Xen. *An.* III. 2, 20), whereas σκόπει is the regular form for the singular, σκέψαι unusual (Ar. *Thesm.* 160, 1114; *Eccl.* 124).<sup>1</sup> Compare Plato II. *Alcib.* 143 E ἐπισκεψώμεθα. In like manner ὀρώμεν instead of ἴδωμεν is very rare, but occasionally it is necessary; for, if one says ὄρα μὴ, he would also naturally say ὀρώμεν μὴ (Plato, *Laches* 196 C), but the optative never, except, of course, in dependent sentences, like Xenophon, *An.* III. 3, 2 (εἰ οὖν ὀρώην ὑμᾶς κτέ).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In [Dem.] XLVI. 16 f. σκέψασθε . . . σκοπεῖτε . . . μὴ σκέψησθε.

<sup>2</sup> After examining a large number of translations and editions in many languages, if haply I might find a single departure from the traditional interpretation of the passage under discussion, I discover that Hartung (Leipzig, 1852) renders: "Ihr seht in Banden einen unglücksel'gen Gott."



V. — *Public Appropriations for Individual Offerings and Sacrifices in Greece.*

BY DR. SUSAN BRALEY FRANKLIN,

BRYN MAWR.

A FRAGMENT of a decree, found on the Acropolis in Athens, relating to a public reward to be given to ὅσοι συνκατήλθον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς has been supposed to be a part of the Archinus decree quoted by Aeschines, III. 187: ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἣν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγούσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανοῦσθαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσῷ· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τίμιος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῇ πράξει κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῇ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι Φυλὴν. E. Ziebarth has published the inscription in the *Mittheil. d. k. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XXIII. (1898), p. 27, and H. von Prott has given some new readings and a further discussion of the relation of the stone to the Archinus decree in the *Mitth.* XXV. (1900), p. 34.<sup>1</sup> No one of the three formulas found in Aeschines and essential for an identification of the decree, viz., δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα χιλίας δραχμάς, στεφανοῦσθαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ, and τὴν δὲ βουλὴν σκέψασθαι ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῇ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, appears upon the stone, but it is supposed that they were written on the part now lost. The end of the decree is the usual place for the first two formulas,

<sup>1</sup> Körte's article on this decree (*Mitth.* XXV. (1900), p. 392) reached me too late for more than a reference here.



and Ziebarth claims that we have no evidence that the heroes of Phyle were more than once rewarded. He places the decree in the archonship of Xenaenetus, two years after the return of the exiles from Phyle, and interprets the inscription to read that the citizenship was granted to those that came from Phyle, but that to those that fought at Munychia the privilege of *ἰσοτέλεια* was given (cf. Xen. *Hell.* II. 4. 25). von Prott considers it quite improbable that such honors to men and gods were deferred for two years, and puts the decree in the archonship of Pythodorus, immediately after the return of the exiles. He claims that most of the men at Phyle were citizens already, and calling attention to the compound, *συγκατήλθον*, suggests that the citizenship was granted to the metics that were allies of 'those from Phyle,' while the special honors mentioned in Aeschines belonged to the *ganzen Schaar*.

It is not the purpose of this paper to undertake a new study of the inscription, but starting from the passage in Aeschines to throw some light on the meaning of the phrase, *εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα*, and incidentally perhaps upon the inscription. What was the meaning of the *ἀναθήματα*, why was the sacrifice made, and was it unusual for the state to bear the expense?

The literary evidence in regard to such sacrifices and offerings is very meagre, and references to this special event help but little. Several passages in the orations of Lysias make it clear that the courage and valor of these heroes was not forgotten or left unrewarded. Agoratus, accused of murder, finds his best claim for mercy in that *ἐπὶ Φυλὴν τε ὄχρετο καὶ συγκατήλθε ἀπὸ Φυλῆς* (*Lys.* XIII. 77); and Lysias anticipates the same plea as the defence of Ergocles, who was charged with injuring Athenian citizens, namely, *ὡς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς κατήλθε, καὶ ὡς δημοτικός ἐστι καὶ ὡς κινδύνων ὑμετέρων μετέσχευ* (*Lys.* XXVIII. 12, 13). Of those that captured the Piraeus it is said: *αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς τετίμηκεν, ἵππαρχεῖν καὶ στρατηγεῖν, καὶ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἰρούμενοι* (*Lys.* XXVI. 20), and of those from Phyle, *κατελθόντες ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τιμῶνται ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ*



δυντες (*Lys.* XIII. 63; cf. XXXI. 8, 9, 13). Cornelius Nepos in his life of Thrasybulus (VIII. 4) writes: Huic pro tantis meritis honoris corona a populo data est, facta duabus virgulis oleaginis; quam, quod amor civium et non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam magnaue fuit gloria. We have then only the authority of our text for the definite statement that in the time of Aeschines there was to be seen in the Metroon a gift granted by the people to those from Phyle that restored the democracy, and that Archinus had proposed the decree by which it was voted to give to those thus honored a thousand drachmas *εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα*, and to crown them with an olive crown. If we would understand the meaning of this appropriation, we must turn to the inscriptions.

The custom of putting up *ἀναθήματα* as thank-offerings is too familiar to need illustration. The state makes such an offering after its own victories, the individual does the same when he has been praised and crowned: the peculiarity in this instance is that the individual is to make his own offering at the expense of the state. In the study of the inscriptional evidence, therefore, a distinction must be made between the decrees in which a man is merely given permission to set up an offering in a public place at his own expense (cf. *C.I.G.I.* Fasc. III., p. 32, 170), and those where the state or society instructs the treasurer to pay from the common treasury the cost of the *ἀνάθημα* which is to be offered in the individual's name. One of the best illustrations of this second class is a decree of the Athenians, found at Rhamnus, in which honors are paid to those that have successfully managed the procession in honor of Amphiaras, and the games and races that formed a part of the festival. The people vote *στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ X δραχμῶν, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀνάθημα Ἡ δραχμαίς* (*C.I.G.S.* 4254). A decree of the *ὀργεῶνες* pays the same honor to two of their members on the more general ground: *ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῇ[ς] εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ὀργεῶνων* (*Mitth.* XXI. (1896), p. 299; Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, 966). A similar decree of the *θιασῶται* has already been noticed by Foucart, *Des Asso-*



*ciations Religieuses*, p. 38. Demetrius, an Olynthian, has not only faithfully fulfilled his duties as treasurer but has contributed his salary to the general treasury. In acknowledgment of these services the society votes στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν ἀναθήματι ὑπὸ πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν, and the new treasurer is instructed to pay the money for the monument and attend to its erection (*C.I.A.* II. 611; cf. Ziebarth, *Das Griechische Vereinswesen*, p. 164).

This expression, στεφανῶσαι ἀναθήματι, has not as yet been found in any other decree,<sup>1</sup> and deserves a word of comment. It may have come originally from the custom of engraving crowns upon an honorary stele, but στεφανῶ is also used with εἰκόνι χαλκῆαι ὀκταπαχεῖ (*B.C.H.* XVIII., p. 235; Michel, *op. cit.* 252) μεγίσταις τιμαῖς, σαρκὶ βοείᾳ, ἄρνι θηλείᾳ, and even with this awkward clause, εἰκόνι χαλκῆαι τελείᾳ, εἴτε κα [βώ]ληται πεζόν, εἴτε κα ἐφ' ἵππῳ αἰ κα προαιρῆται (Michel, *op. cit.* 448, 360, 362, 445). A similar metaphorical use of στεφανῶ survives in Plutarch (*Timoleon*, 244 b, XVI.), τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπον ἐστεφάνωσαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι δέκα μναῖς, which is an exact parallel to Harpocration's quotation from Lycurgus, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Καλλισθένην ρ μναῖς ἐστεφάνωσατε (*Harpocr.* I., p. 278, Dind.). It is evident that these expressions and those found on the inscriptions have had a common origin in the marks of honor that were associated with the ceremony of crowning, so that the word στεφανῶσαι in these instances means little more than 'to honor.' The name of Demetrius is to be engraved upon the offering that he puts up, but the society of the θιασῶται is to bear the expense.

The amount of the appropriation for this ἀνάθημα of Demetrius is proportionally one of the largest found in such decrees, exceeding several fold the ten drachmas per man mentioned by Aeschines as a normal sum for both offering and sacrifice. The form of the monuments must have varied from the altar or statue to the simple stele containing the name of the person that dedicated it, with, perhaps, a copy of the decree that authorized the appropria-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mith.* XXV. (1900), p. 107, στεφανωθείσαν ὑπὸ τῶν βουλῶν πλεονάκεις χρυσέοις στεφάνοις καὶ ἀνδριάντων καὶ προσώπων ἀργυρέων ἀναθέσει.



tion. An instance of this simplest form is found in another decree of the *θιασῶται*, passed about a year earlier in favor of the *ἐπιμεληταί* of that year. It is voted to praise and crown them and *δοῦν[αι δὲ] αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς ἀνάθημα ἓκ [τοῦ κο]ινού Δ Δ δραχμὰς ἐν ᾧ οἱ τε [στέ]φανοι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀναγραφή[σ]εται κ.τ.λ.* Below the decree two crowns are engraved, and within each the inscription, *οἱ θιασῶται, οἱ Τυνάρου Δράκοντα Κίττον* (*Mitth.* XXI. (1896), p. 93). The cost of this *ἀνάθημα* is limited to ten drachmas for each of the commissioners, a sum frequently appropriated for the engraving of a stele, and it is definitely prescribed that the crowns and a copy of the decree should be cut upon the stone. As no directions are given for making any other copy of the document, and as this stone corresponds so closely to the *ἀνάθημα* described, it seems probable that in this instance we have the original offering itself. In the published inscriptions no trace of any phrase *οἱ δέιοι ἀνέθεσαν* appears, but even with this lacking, it is not impossible that the very existence of the stone in the sacred precinct was witness enough that an offering had been made.

A study of the dedicatory inscriptions has thrown but little light on the nature of these offerings. None were found that corresponded exactly to the names on the honorary decrees in which the appropriations were recorded. In many probable instances, where the dedicatory inscription reads *ἐπαινεθεῖς καὶ στεφανωθείς ὁ δέιος ἀνέθηκεν*, no certain identification could be made, because no copy of a decree containing the appropriation appeared upon the stone.

Although the evidence is so meagre and unsatisfactory, it is at least proved that public appropriations were frequently made to help people pay their vows of thanksgiving to the gods. Other examples might be cited, but they add little to our knowledge of the custom, and we turn instead to the meaning of the phrase *εἰς θυσίαν*. Does Aeschines refer to a public or a private sacrifice, why was it offered, and what can be known of the details of the custom?

The offering of a public sacrifice in honor of those who have won a victory for the state is not unusual, and might



naturally suggest itself as the explanation in this case. An interesting reference to such a sacrifice occurs in Plutarch (*Aristides*, XIX.),<sup>1</sup> where in the account of the defeat of Artabazus it is said that out of 1360 Athenians that fell, 52 belonged to the tribe Aiantis, and that in their honor the people of the tribe sacrificed to the gods, drawing on the public treasury for the expense. Another kind of public sacrifice which is made on the occasion of offering a crown and corresponds more closely to the phraseology of the decree quoted by Aeschines, is referred to in an inscription as late as 167 B.C. (*C.I.G.* 2155). The Athenians at Myrina vote a crown in honor of Athens, and proceed to elect envoys who shall convey it to Athens and dedicate it to Athena, and shall also congratulate the Athenian people on their success in their suit before the Roman senate. This decree provides for the expense of the crown and of a sacrifice to Athena, but it is evident that the sacrifice is altogether a public one. In yet a third form of decree sacrifices are offered at public expense in honor of some individual praised, but as a state sacrifice and not as the individual's own offering. In a decree from Delos of c. 279 B.C., in praise of Philocles, king of Sidon, it is voted to crown him with a crown worth a thousand drachmas, and to sacrifice *σωτήρια* in his honor. (Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 155; Michel, *op. cit.* 387.) A decree from Ephesus in honor of Demetrius Poliorcetes is very similar. (Michel, *op. cit.* 490; Hicks, *Gr. Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 448.)

Intermediate between the decrees for public and those for personal sacrifices we find two that are somewhat doubtful. They are in honor of dicasts, who in recognition of their wise judgments in cases they have been called upon to decide, are presented by the people of the city to whom they did the favor, with a crown and money for a sacrifice. This exchange of courtesies between cities would lead one to suppose that the sacrifices referred to public honors, and the fact that only one crown is mentioned confirms the supposition. Like the delegates from Myrina (*C.I.G.* 2155, cited above), these judges

<sup>1</sup> For this reference I am indebted to Dr. A. Wilhelm, whom I wish to thank for the subject of this paper, and for much kind help in my work upon it.



may simply have been instructed to offer a public sacrifice and a crown of honor as a mark of gratitude from the city they have served; or else, having displayed wisdom and justice in their own duties they, as a board of judges, have been honored with personal honors and given money for a sacrifice of thanksgiving in which they all are to share equally. The decree of the people of Calymna is only a fragment, but it probably belongs to the dicast decree, preceding it in the collection (*Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 261, *a* and *b*). It reads: εἰς δὲ τὰν στή[λαν καὶ τὰν ἀναγραφὰν] καὶ τὰν θυσίαν καὶ [τὸν στέφανον τὸ γινόμενον] ἀνάλωμα ὁ ταμίας [δότης κ.τ.λ. The second decree, from Amorgus, near Minoa, is more complete. (*C.I.G.* 2264, 1.) A vote is passed to make the dicasts proxeni, to give them other privileges, and finally στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ ὑπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατόν· δοῦναι δὲ καὶ εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ξένια αὐτοῖς δραχμὰς πενήκοντα κ.τ.λ. The inscriptions are incomplete and the context of the first at least very doubtful, but it is probable that in the vote from Calymna an appropriation was made for a public sacrifice, while the people of Amorgus were thinking more of the judges themselves than of the state from which they came, and gave them the money for their own thank-offering.

For the heroes of Phyle there was no public sacrifice made as for those of the tribe Aiantis after the conflict with Artabazus, nor were public thanksgivings offered as for Demetrius and Philocles, but each man honored was to make his own thank-offering to the gods, and the state was to show him the further favor of paying the cost. The significance of the custom will become clearer by the study of a few decrees more closely related to the one quoted by Aeschines. They will be found to date from the middle of the fourth century to about 270 B.C., with a possible illustration in the first century B.C., and they include decrees passed by the Athenian state, by the tribes and demes of Attica, by the religious society of the ὀργεῶνες of the Piraeus, and by the θιασῶται. The same recognition of faithfulness, loyalty, and public spirit that was given to "those from Phyle that restored the democracy" was given as well to those that had been faithful in smaller



services. Among those thus honored we find priests of Dionysus who had done good service in the celebration of the Dionysia, a committee of prominent citizens who had been appointed to arrange for a procession and games in honor of Amphiaraus, a certain Epigenes, an archon of the Meso-geans who had won favor by sacrifices to the gods and heroes at the Heracleia, the men that had proved good cho-regi for the Ἀξίωνεῖς in the year 325, and finally Damasias, a Theban schoolmaster at Eleusis, who had proved himself a friendly citizen and had given and trained at his own expense two choruses for the Dionysia. Perhaps the best known of those that received the gift εἰς θυσίαν are Lycurgus and Demades, the orators. A complete list of the decrees containing the appropriation εἰς θυσίαν, arranged in the order in which they have just been referred to, is as follows:—

<i>C.I.A.</i> IV. 2, 184 b.	<i>C.I.A.</i> IV. 2, 574 b.
<i>C.I.G.S.</i> 4254.	<i>Mitth.</i> XXI. (1896), p. 299.
<i>C.I.A.</i> II. 603.	<i>C.I.A.</i> II. 558.
<i>C.I.A.</i> II. 579.	<i>C.I.A.</i> II. 608.

The decree published in the *Mittheilungen* is a vote of the ὀργεῶνες in honor of two of their members, and the last two cited are mere fragments of decrees honoring services of which the record is now lost. To this list there should perhaps be added a decree from Megara dating from the first century B.C. A certain Soteles was to be honored by a statue to be erected at public expense. Being present, however, when the vote was passed, and not wishing to have the treasury, which was already low, taxed further for his benefit, he not only erected the statue at his own expense, but paid for the sacrifice to the gods, and entertained the citizens. The inscription reads: ὅπως [δὲ μὴδ] ἐν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνάλωμα ἁ πόλις ποιέι, τὸν τε ἀνδριάντα ἀ[ναστήσα]ς ἔθυσε πᾶσι το[ῖς θ]εοῖς καὶ ἐδίπνισε (sic) τοὺς πολεῖτας πάντ[ας]. (*C.I.G.S.* 190.) The implication certainly is that the city would ordinarily pay the cost of the sacrifice. It cannot be claimed, however, that the occasion was the same or the sacrifice so personal an offering as in the other instances.



In the Attic *Corpus*, the Island *Corpus*, the *Inscriptiones Septentrionales*, and the *Inscriptions of the British Museum*, only these illustrations of this form of public appropriation have been found, and a search for further evidence in the Attic orators has been quite fruitless. There is no doubt that such public appropriations were made, but we cannot make generalizations as to their nature. Thus far the most important decrees have been found in Attica, but the dicast decree from Minoa warns us against concluding that the custom was confined to that state.

The amount of the appropriation appears to have varied with the circumstances. The passage in Aeschines suggests ten drachmas a man as a possible standard, the appropriation to include the ἀνάθημα as well as the sacrifice. Just this sum was voted for the commissioners who had charge of the festival of Amphiaraus, one hundred drachmas for ten men (*C.I.G.S.* 4254). To Democrates and Hegesias, who were choregi for the tribe Αἰξωνεῖς, the sum of ten drachmas was given for the sacrifice (*C.I.A.* II. 579), and in a decree for services of which the record is lost three men were given fifty drachmas (*C.I.A.* II. 579). The Mesogeans voted only fifteen drachmas for a sacrifice in which two ἱερεῖς, οἱ μνήμονες, ὁ πυρφόρος, ὁ κοραγωγός, ὁ κήρυξ, were to have a part (*C.I.A.* II. 603), but for Damasias alone the people of Eleusis gave a hundred (*C.I.A.* IV. 2, p. 140, 574 b). As regards the society appropriations, the decree most recently found shows clearly that there was no fixed sum. Perhaps the amount varied with the services to be rewarded, or quite as probably with the state of the treasury, which was so often in need of the generosity of a wealthy treasurer (cf. Foucart, *Assoc. Relig.*, p. 25). In any case Cleaenetus, in proposing honors for Calliades and Lysomachides, thought it best to leave the appropriation to the ὀργεῶνες with power (*Mith.* XXI. (1896), p. 299).

A slight difference between the ψήφισμα περὶ δωρεᾶς τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς and the decrees that have been quoted might be of importance in identifying it with a decree upon a stone. Aeschines distinctly states that Archinus first proposed the



gift of money for the sacrifice, and then the crown of olive, while in the other decrees the gift of the crown is invariably mentioned first, and seems in some instances the chief occasion for the thank-offering and the sacrifice. Not only having been "praised" do these men pay their vows, but having been "praised and crowned." Orators, however, are not always accurate in the quotation of decrees, and it must be remembered that Aeschines was eager to make his point about the folly of crowning Demosthenes with a golden crown, and would naturally give the crowning the most important place in his paragraph.

The results of this investigation contribute very little toward a decision as to the identity of the Archinus decree quoted by Aeschines, and the inscription published by Ziebarth and by von Prott. None of the decrees quoted combine the citizenship with the crown and the appropriation for the monument and the sacrifice, but they are not all state decrees, and in any case it could not be proved that two such votes might not be united in one decree. It is, however, plain that the appropriation *εἰς ἀναθήματα καὶ εἰς θυσίαν* had to do with the individuals thus honored, referred to the thanks they as individuals were to pay the gods for this honor received from the state, and is not to be connected, as von Prott seems to suggest, with the general public sacrifice to Athena on the Acropolis made on the occasion of their actual return to the city, when they marched in festal procession to the Acropolis, having laid down their weapons at the gates (Plut. *Glor. Ath.* 7, Xen. *Hell.* II. 4, 39, Lys. XIII. 80 ff.).

The origin of this form of public beneficence is not easy to trace. The possibility that the state contributed money to those who were too poor to make a sacrifice or raise a thank-offering might suggest itself as an explanation. Not only poor exiles from Phyle, however, receive this honor, but citizens like Demades and Lycurgus, and the Theban, Damias, whose wealth is evident from the very services that they rendered. Unless they cast their all into the treasury there is no reason to suppose that the appropriation in these cases



came under the state charities. The gift was rather an honor, to be classed with the gift of a crown.

In the days of the greatest Athenian prosperity we find few traces of the custom, and in the examples from later times it is associated with the gold more often than with the olive crown. Perhaps it belongs to the time when the state was paying more heed to outward signs of glory, when honorary statues began to crowd the sacred precincts, and the true Greek simplicity was yielding to foreign influence. Until new inscriptions are found to throw more light on the whole question, no attempt to define the custom to exact limits of time or locality can be made.



VI. — *Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms.*

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Few studies are more fascinating than the comparative study of religions and rites. There are, however, two special dangers in it, to which many have fallen victims: namely, the danger of formulating general principles from very scanty materials, and the danger of attributing to a people, throughout its whole history, a rite which, so far as our evidence goes, was practised in only a single period of that people's history. Against these, the investigator should ever be on his guard.

To come at once to the topic of which I propose to treat: if one turns to general manuals such as that of Preller or of Roscher, or to more special works like Frazer's *Golden Bough* and his *Pausanias*, or Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*, — all of which I mention *honoris causa*, — one gets the impression that rain-charms and prayers to rain-gods were very common among the Greeks and Romans. In such books the seductive 'passim' and its fellow-charmer 'for example' are hardly ever followed by more than two or three references to the authors, and yet upon these is commonly based some generalizing statement which gives the reader his mistaken impression. For is it not mistaken? I ask the reader to try to recall any passages in the authors that deal with rain-gods and rain-charms, and I should be surprised if he could think of half a dozen. At least, I had no better fortune when my attention was called recently to the subject. Consequently I set to work to collect all the passages in the authors and in inscriptions which touch upon it, and I submit them here because they seem not to have been gathered before. The Greek and the Latin are arranged separately.

Before coming to prayers and charms, the phrase *ὑεὶ Ζεὺς*, which occurs in early authors, should be mentioned. In this



phrase, Zeus is recognized as a god that rains, but nothing is necessarily implied about a prayer to him. It occurs in Homer (*ἕε Ζεύς*, *Il.* 12, 25; *Od.* 14, 457), Hesiod (*Ζεὺς ὕει*, *Op.* 488), Alcaeus (*ἕει Ζεύς*, 34), and Theognis (*Ζεὺς ὕων*, 25). Similar to them are three later passages. The first is in Herodotus (2, 13), to whom the Egyptian priests said that *εἰ μὴ ἐβελήσει σφι* (*i.e.* the Greeks) *ἕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ αὐχμῶ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῶ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐστὶ ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μόνον.*

The second is in Isocrates (*Busiris*, 13) and much to the same effect, for he is speaking of Egypt: *τῶν γὰρ ὀμβρῶν καὶ τῶν αὐχμῶν τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὁ Ζεὺς ταμίης ἐστίν, ἐκείνων δ' ἕκαστος ἀμφοτέρων τούτων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ κύριος καθέστηκεν.* That is, they use the Nile at will for irrigation and need no rain.

The third is part of the chatter of Theophrastus's garrulous man, who will tell you over the wine that *εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ πλείον, τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ βελτίω ἔσεσθαι* (*Char.* 3). But in none of these passages, from Homer to Theophrastus, is anything said about prayers to Zeus. I come next to prayers to him and to other gods.

So far as the classical period is concerned, this part of my treatise must be like the famous chapter on 'Snakes in Iceland'; for I find no allusion to the subject in classical Greek literature. In the later literature and inscriptions, Zeus worshipped as a rain-god has the titles of *ὑέτιος*, *ὀμβριος*, and *ἀπήμιος*; possibly also *ἀφέσιος*, *Ἑλλήνιος*, and *Πανελλήνιος*. The earliest occurrence of any of these titles is in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (160), written probably about 295 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It is but a casual mention. The poet is speaking of Pelops whom

*ἔσται' Ἐρεχθεὺς εἰς Λετριναίους γύας  
λευρὰν ἀλετρεύσοντα Μόλπιδος πέτραν  
τοῦ Ζηνὶ δαιτυθέντος ὀμβρίῳ δέμας.*

From Tzetzes on this passage we learn that Molpis was an Elean who after a long drought allowed himself to be sacri-

<sup>1</sup> Even if the date 274 (in Christ, *Gr. Litt.*, p. 540) be preferred, our passage still remains the earliest.



ficed to Zeus Ombrios, and that the grateful Eleans built a temple to the god and set up a statue of the victim therein. This instance, therefore, belongs to mythical times, and so does the second, which is recorded in the Parian Chronicle, composed in 264 B.C. Here we read that Deucalion took refuge from the flood in Athens with Cranaos :

Δευκαλίων τοὺς ὄμβρους ἔφυγεν ἐγ Λυκωρείας εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς Κραναίον, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὀμβρίου ἀπημύτου τὸ ἱρόν ιδρύσατο [καὶ] τὰ σωτήρια ἔθυσεν (C.I.G. 2, 2374, p. 300; Flach, *Chron. Par.*, p. 2).

We know nothing more of this ἱρόν, and consequently have no evidence that prayers for rain were ever offered at it by the Athenians. As Flach notes, it may be that the compiler of the Chronicle thought (or drew from his sources) that the Olympieum was originally dedicated to Zeus Ombrios Ape-mius; cf. also Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. xl, 5.

With the next reference we come to firm ground in historical times. In the island of Cos there was an association, the members of which marched in processions and held sacrifices in honor of Zeus ὑέτιος — we are not told when, but presumably when rain was wanted. Our sole evidence for the existence of this association (or indeed for any processions of Greeks who wanted rain) is an inscription containing the words: ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν συμπορευομένων παρὰ Δ[ία] ὑ[έτιον]. The body of the inscription consists of a statement of honors conferred upon two members of the society because τὰ τε ἱερὰ τῷ [ι] Διὶ ἐξέθυσαν καὶ ἀνευώσαντο τὰν θυσίαν τοῦ Διός, and for other reasons of no consequence to our present topic. The date is supposed to be somewhere between 260 and 200 B.C. It has been frequently published (e.g. Ross, *Inscr. Ined.* 175; Paton and Hicks, 382; Collitz, 3718; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 735), and the string of references thus accumulated has apparently led certain modern writers to suppose that rain-processions were not uncommon among the Greeks.

Here I must leave Zeus for a moment to speak of prayers to the Ὀραι or Seasons. According to Philochorus (ap. Athenaeum, p. 656 a), the Athenians ταῖς Ὀραις θύοντες οὐκ



ὀπτῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔψουσι τὰ κρέα, παραιτούμενοι τὰς θεὰς ἀπείργειν τὰ περισκελῇ καύματα καὶ τοὺς αὐχμούς, μετὰ δὲ τῆς συμμέτρου θερμασίας καὶ ὑδάτων ὡραίων ἐκτελεῖν τὰ φνόμενα. Here we have boiled not roasted meat<sup>1</sup> offered to the Seasons, accompanied with a prayer that they would avert excessive heat and droughts, and send moderately warm weather and seasonable rains. The kind of offering (and it may be noted that here only are we told what was sacrificed on the occasion of a rain-prayer) seems to show that Philochorus is not referring to the worship of the Seasons in conjunction with Apollo or Helios, either at the Pyanepsia or at the Thargelia, yet it may be that our information about the offerings at these festivals<sup>2</sup> is not sufficiently full to warrant us in definitely concluding that he is thinking of some other occasion. At all events it appears probable from his language that this worship of the Seasons was an annual rite, and it was obviously going on in his day. Philochorus flourished between 306 and 261 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> so that chronologically this worship rests on earlier authority than does that of Zeus Hyetios in the island of Cos. But we can hardly think of the Seasons as rain-goddesses, and indeed our passage shows that what was asked of them was seasonable weather rather than mere rain. This prayer was based upon the various conceptions of them as expressed in the *Iliad* (5, 749 ff.), where they are warders at the gates of heaven, having commission "to throw open the thick cloud or set it to." Naturally, therefore, they would be thought of as acting not independently but under the orders of Zeus.

Returning then to that great god, there is a passing mention of ὑέτιος in a list of his titles in the Aristotelian work *de Mundo* (401 a, 17) and then nothing more in the Greek authors or inscriptions until the Christian era has begun. Here Plutarch in his youthful work, the *Convivium* (15), casually alludes to Zeus Ombrios in such a manner as to show

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of this, with a modern parallel, see *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup> I, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> See Mommsen, *Feste Athens*, pp. 279 and 480 f.

<sup>3</sup> The passage quoted is usually ascribed to his *περὶ θυσίων* (Müller, *F.H.G.* I, 413).



that altars and sacrifices to that god were not unfamiliar in his day. The sages are discussing the rites of hospitality and the due employment of the pleasures of the table. Abolish these, says one, and the worship and honor of the gods will also perish; the sun will have but small and the moon yet smaller reverence if they are to afford men nothing but light and heat; ὀμβρίῳ δὲ Διὶ καὶ προηροσίᾳ Διήμητρι καὶ φυταλμίῳ Ποσειδῶνι ποῦ βωμὸς ἔσται; ποῦ δὲ θυσία; κτλ. Here, as A. Mommsen says (*Feste Athens*, p. 197), we apparently have a group of θεοὶ προηρόσιοι; but it seems to me that it would be dangerous to conclude, from this passage, that Zeus Ombrios had an altar and a worship in Athens in the classical period. The epithets of the other two divinities with whom he is here grouped are a warning against such a conclusion. They do not occur as such before the time of Plutarch. Doubtless Demeter and Poseidon were worshipped at Eleusis, and this Poseidon probably became Phytalmios<sup>1</sup>; but when? The inscription on the seat of his priest in the Dionysiac theatre is one of the latest, being not earlier than the second century A.D. The title φυτάλμιος is not elsewhere applied to him in the literature<sup>2</sup> or in Athenian inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> No masculine or feminine adjective προηρόσιος, προηροσία occurs before Plutarch.

Looking farther for the rain-god, we find a coin of Ephesus (Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmythologie*, II, p. 226 f., Münztafel, III, 22, and Head, *Greek Coins of Ionia*, p. 79 and pl. xiii, 9). It shows Zeus enthroned on the top of a rock, holding in his left hand a thunderbolt, while from his outstretched right arm pours a shower of rain upon the mountain god Pion, who is recumbent below him. There is nothing to show under what title this Zeus was recognized or any worship of him. It is the only extant representation of Zeus as a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *ibid.*, pp. 12 and 506; Harrison, *Mythol. and Mon. of Anc. Athens*, p. lv.

<sup>2</sup> The *Anonymi Laurentiani XII Deorum Epitheta* (ed. Studemund in *Anecdota Varia*) give it, but this fact would be no evidence for an early date for the title in Athens.

<sup>3</sup> He had a temple at Troezen, and his worship is known to have existed at Eruthrae (in the 3d century B.C.) and in Rhodes; see Frazer to Pausanias, 2, 32, 8.



rain-god which I have found in Greek or Roman art. The coin was struck in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

His successor, Marcus Aurelius, has left us what purports to be an actual prayer to Zeus for rain, the famous 'prayer of the Athenians,' as follows (*Comm.* 5, 7): Εὐχὴ Ἀθηναίων ὕσον, ὕσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων. His comment is: ἤτοι οὐ δεῖ εὐχεσθαι, ἣ οὕτως, ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως. Our information about the forms of Greek prayers is so slight that we are not entitled to doubt that this one is genuine, and that it was actually uttered on some occasion or occasions. The rhythmical parts into which it appears to fall (see Norden, *Kunstprosa*, I, p. 46, though his is not the only possible arrangement) seem to indicate that it was employed in a regular ritual; if so, it was probably cast rhythmically to help the memory of those who used it. Before parting with this prayer it must be noted that on the emperor's statement and on the passage in Philochorus rests our only evidence that prayers for rain were ever offered in Athens.

In an inscription from Phrygia recently published by Koerte (*Mittheil. Deutsch. Arch. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, 1900, p. 421), it seems probable that we have another prayer to Zeus for rain. It is in hexameters, and with Koerte's restorations runs thus:

βρέχε γαῖ]αν,  
καρπῶ [ὄπ]ως βρι[θ]η καὶ ἐν]ὶ σταχύεσσι τεθήλη.  
τ[αῦτ]ά [σε] Μητρεόδωρος ἐγὼ λίτομαι, Κρο[ν]ίδα Ζεῦ,  
ἀμφὶ τοῖς βωμοῖσιν ἐπήρρατα<sup>1</sup> θύματα ῥέζων.

The names of the consuls for the year follow, whence it appears that the inscription was set up in 175 A.D., still in the reign of M. Aurelius. The conjectural reading in the first verse seems at first thought rather bold, yet it is difficult to think of anything but rain that should be asked of Zeus in the prayer. On the other hand, I cannot follow Koerte<sup>2</sup> in his belief that the Zeus here addressed is Zeus Bronton,

<sup>1</sup> So spelled on the stone.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 422. For Bronton in general see the whole article; also Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., and Ramsay, *Jour. Hellen. Stud.*, 1882, p. 123 f.



a deity to whom many inscriptions are found in the neighborhood. It is true that not all of them are sepulchral, so that this somewhat obscure god can no longer be considered as purely chthonic; but neither in Rome, where his worship seems to have been sometimes connected with that of Mithras, nor in his proper home in Asia Minor, has anything been found that would stamp him as a rain-god. And the fact that the god addressed in our prayer is called *Κρονίδης*, an epithet nowhere, I believe, coupled with *Βροντῶν*, points to the Greek and not to the Phrygian Zeus. In the same direction point the language and metrical form of the verse, which, as Koerte observes, are remarkably correct, considering that they are found in a village in Phrygia.

Next and still in the reign of the Emperor Aurelius comes Pausanias, and he has much to tell us of Zeus the rain-god. At Lebadea in Boeotia he visited the precinct of Trophonius: *τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει Τροφωνίου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερόν . . . καὶ Ζεὺς ὑέτιος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ* (9, 39, 4). The language here would seem to suggest a statue or relief, not an altar. If this be the correct interpretation, this passage and the extant coin of Ephesus are our only evidences of artistic representation of the rain-god Zeus.

At Argos, apparently near the temple of Lycian Apollo, there was in Pausanias's time *βωμὸς ὑετίου Διός, ἐνθα οἱ συσπείδοντες Πολυνεΐκει τὴν ἐς Θήβας κύθοδον ἀποθανεῖσθαι συνώμοσαν, ἣν μὴ τὰς Θήβας γένηται σφισιν ἐλεῖν* (2, 19, 8). To have such a legend attaching to it, this altar must have been, or have seemed to be, very ancient.

In Attica Pausanias found two altars to the rain-god, both on mountains: *ἐν Ὑμητῷ . . . βωμοὶ καὶ ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι προοψίου . . . ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμός, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τοτὲ μὲν ὀμβριον, τοτὲ δὲ ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία* (1, 32, 2). Here the present tense *θύουσι* shows that on Parnes, at least, sacrifice was offered to Zeus Ombrios in the time of Pausanias.

On a hill beside the road from Megara to Corinth Pausanias saw a temple of Zeus Apheresios: *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ*



ἄκρα Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀφεςίου καλουμένου ναός· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν αὐχμοῦ, θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατὰ τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· κομίσαντα δὲ ἀφείναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀφέσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία (1, 44, 13). The same story (but with more detail) about the removal of the drought by Zeus in answer to the prayer of Aeacus is told again by Pausanias in his second book (29, 8); cf. also Diod. Sic. 4, 61, and Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1253. In none of these passages, however, is there any hint that Zeus Aphetios or Panhellenios was ever again prayed to for rain, and indeed the epithet ἀφέσιος is capable of an entirely different explanation; cf. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*, who gives references to the literature of the question. Still, it should be noted that in Theophrastus, *de Signis Tempestatum*, 24, we find: ἐὰν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑλλανίου νεφέλη καθίζηται, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ὕδωρ γίνεται.

Finally, of Mt. Arachnaeum, on the frontier of Argolis and Epidauria, Pausanias says: βωμοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῷ, Διὸς τε καὶ Ἥρας. δεῖσαν δμβρου, σφισιν ἐνταῦθα θύουσιν (2, 25, 9). Again the present tense should be noted (see above, p. 89, Paus. 1, 32, 2), and further the fact that here only does Hera appear as a goddess to whom one may pray for rain. As for Zeus the rain-god, he is met for the last time in Greek literature in Lydus *de Mensibus* (p. 123, 19, Wuensch). This writer, who flourished about 530 A.D., says that the god's birthplace at Mt. Tmolus, near Sardis, was called Δεύσιον, but that in early times the name had been Γοναὶ Δωὸς ὑετίου.

It may be mentioned here that the dictionaries and many modern writers on mythology and religion speak of Ζεὺς ἱκμαῖος as if the title indicated Zeus as a rain-god. But the ancient authors do not bear out this interpretation, and there is no evidence that rain-prayers were ever offered to Zeus under this title. It denotes him as the sender of the Etesian winds, in connexion with the myth of Aristaeus. The principal passages in the authors are: Theophr. *de Ventis* 14; Ap. Rhod. 2, 522, and the scholia to this verse and to verse 498; Clem. Alex. *Strom.*, p. 753 Bk.; Probus on Verg. *G.* 1, 14; Nonnus, *D.* 5, 269 ff.



It might naturally be expected that prayers for rain should be offered to the Winds or to the Clouds, approached as divine beings. But we find such a prayer only among the Orphic Hymns, and even here the usual conception prevails, that winds and clouds act not independently but under the orders of Zeus. Thus, in the eighty-second hymn addressed to Notos, ὄμβροιο γενάρχης, it is added :

τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστι σέθεν γέρας ἡερόφοιτον,  
ὄμβροτόκους νεφέλας ἐξ ἡέρος ἐς χθόνα πέμπειν.

With this compare Ovid, *Met.* I, 264, where Notus is the wind employed by Jupiter to bring on the rain for the deluge.<sup>1</sup> Only in one hymn (21) do we find a direct rain-prayer in which no allusion to Zeus is made. This hymn begins with the words, ἡέριαι νεφέλαι, and after five verses of complimentary epithets ends with the prayer :

ὑμᾶς νῦν λίτομαι, δροσρείμονες, εὐπνοοὶ αὔραις,  
πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μήτερα γαῖαν.

At this point it will be convenient to say something about the opinion, which has begun to prevail in some quarters,<sup>2</sup> that prayers for rain were sometimes offered in Athens to or through Gaia, the goddess Earth. This opinion is based upon a passage in Pausanias. To his account of the objects of interest in front of the north side of the Parthenon (I, 24, 3), he makes the prefatory remark that people who prefer skilfully executed works to antiques will find the following worth their inspection : (ὅστις δὲ τὰ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα ἐπίπροσθεν τίθεται τῶν ἐς ἀρχαιότητα ἡκόντων, καὶ τὰδε ἐστὶν οἱ θεάσασθαι). Then he mentions a helmeted man by Cleoetas, an artist who belongs in the latter half of the fifth century B.C. Then he says : ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα, ἱκετευούσης ὑσαι οἱ

<sup>1</sup> The great winged creature showering rain upon the troops in a relief on the column of Marcus Aurelius (Brünn, *Denkmäler*, Taf. 483) is doubtless intended for Notus, not Jupiter Pluvius.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kuhnert in Roscher, *Lex.* I, p. 1570 ff. ; Harrison, *Mythol. and Mon.*, p. 414 ff. ; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 257 ff., English edition, p. 468 ff. (to the latter only I shall hereafter refer).



τὸν Δία· εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῖσαν Ἀθηναίους, εἴτε καὶ τοῖς παῶσιν Ἑλλήσι συμβὰς αὐχμός. Then, after noting statues of Timotheus and Conon, he remarks upon a group which was dedicated by (and perhaps the work of) Alcamenes, the contemporary of Phidias. Apparently, therefore, all these works belonged to the best period of Greek art. In one of them Pausanias thought that he recognized a representation<sup>1</sup> of Gaia praying Zeus to rain upon her.

Upon the basis of this passage Kuhnert says of Gaia: "Bei einer Dürre wandte man sich in Attika vornehmlich an sie (Paus. 1, 24, 3), nicht an die Vegetationsgöttin Demeter, sondern an die Mutter Gaia (vgl. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 373, 25)." This statement is a good example of the generalizing method of which I spoke at the beginning of these remarks. The passage in Pausanias obviously can prove nothing more than that (as he himself suggested) on one particular occasion the Athenians, turning to Zeus, not to Gaia,<sup>2</sup> for rain, made use of a representation of Gaia as an intermediary. And how can the inscription in Dittenberger, to which Kuhnert refers, possibly help out his statement about Attica? It is an inscription of the island of Myconus, of the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C. (See Dittenberger's second edition, No. 615.) The line which Kuhnert cites contains the vote that on the twelfth of the month Lenaeon a certain sacrifice was to be offered Διονύσῳ Ληνεῖ ἐτήσιον ὑπὲρ καρπῶν Διὶ χθονίῳ Γῇ χθονίῃ δ' ἐπτά μέλανα ἐτήσια. There is really nothing here about a sacrifice in time of drought, for these were to be regular annual sacrifices; but if Kuhnert supposes that drought is implied by ὑπὲρ καρπῶν, what becomes of his 'nicht an die Vegetationsgöttin Demeter' in view of the prescription in the same inscription for the tenth of Lenaeon: ὑπὲρ καρποῦ Διμήτρει ὕν

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing in the Greek to show whether this ἀγάλμα was a work in the round or a relief. Kuhnert (*ibid.*, p. 1581) thinks that it was the latter, and that Gaia was represented rising out of the earth toward Zeus. Furtwängler (p. 469, n. 1), without giving any reason, says that Kuhnert is mistaken and that ἀγάλμα here means *image*. But for the various uses of the word in Pausanias, see the preface to the edition of Siebelis, Vol. I, p. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> For she is ὀμβροχαρής (*Orphic Hymns*, 26, 8), not ὀμβροφόρος.



ἐγκύμονα πρωτοτόκον? The fact is that the line which Kuhnert cites gives us no more information about prayers for rain than does Hesiod's (*Op.* 465)

εὐχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίῳ, Δημήτερι θ' ἀγνῇ  
ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν.

But did Pausanias rightly interpret the work of art which he saw? It should be remembered that by the Greeks of the classical period Gaia was reckoned either among the chthonic divinities of death or as *κουροτρόφος* and little else (cf. Kuhnert, *ibid.*, p. 1570 ff.). In Greek art she belongs to the Erichthonius and the Giant stories. Not until Roman times does she appear to have lost that earlier personality and to have come to be the mere personification of the ground (cf. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 578; Kuhnert, *ibid.*, p. 1583). Such epithets as *καρποδοτειρα*, *καρποφόρος*, *πολυάνθεμος*, *φερέκαρπος*, and *φερέσταχυς* are not applied to her by classical but by late poets, chiefly in the Orphic Hymns and Sibylline Oracles (see Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum*, p. 71 ff.). Hence, were it not for the context, which seems to point to a work of the classical period, I should be inclined to think that the *ἄγαλμα* belonged to Roman times. I may be laying too much stress upon this context, but indeed I do not know enough about the habits of Pausanias to be able to decide whether he would be likely to follow up such a preface as we have noted with a list of works belonging to different periods. If the inscription cut in the living rock close by, *γῆς καρποφύρου κατὰ μαντείαν* (*C.I.A.* 3, 166) belongs to the lost *ἄγαλμα* (which cannot be proved, though it is commonly assumed as a fact by recent writers), it would seem to square with the idea that the *ἄγαλμα* was of Roman times. For the inscription is admitted by all to be of the time of Hadrian, and Furtwängler's remark of it, "doubtless merely a restoration of an older one," is a pure assumption. Indeed, the epithet *καρποφόρος* applied to the goddess seems to me to indicate that the inscription was by no means an old one. However, giving the context in Pausanias all the value which it may be worth, that is, supposing the *ἄγαλμα* to have



been of the best period of art,<sup>1</sup> I suspect that it did not in that case represent Gaia asking for rain, but that what Pausanias saw was in reality a representation of Gaia praying for the life of her children the giants. For this scene, cf. the well-known vase painting by Aristophanes (Baumeister, p. 595, fig. 637; Roscher, I, p. 1580, fig. 3), and the frieze of the altar at Pergamon (Baumeister, taf. xxxviii; Roscher, p. 1581, fig. 4). It is not inconceivable that Pausanias should have made the mistake which I have suggested, for he nowhere mentions Earth as the mother of the Giants; he apparently knew little or cared little about the Gigantomachia, for he never describes in detail any work of art in which it was represented. The reason for this may be that the old conception of Gaia was all but forgotten in his time, being replaced by the idea of her as *καρποφόρος*. But I have perhaps said enough to show that there is no evidence that prayers for rain were ever offered to the goddess Earth by the people of Attica.

Hitherto I have spoken only of prayers. I come now to prayers combined with what may be called magic rites. We have two certain cases of this combination.

The first which I shall mention (though the evidence for it is later than the evidence for the other) belongs on Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia, and the story is told by Pausanias (8, 38, 4), who uses present tenses, thereby signifying that the rite was practised in his own day. On this mountain was the never-failing spring Hagno, sacred to one of the three nymphs who, according to the Arcadians, had reared up the child Zeus on the mountain. In times of drought, says Pausanias, *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς προσευξάμενος ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ θύσας, ὅποσα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ νόμος, καθίει δρυὸς κλάδον ἐπιπολῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐς βάθος τῆς πηγῆς· ἀνακινήθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄνεισιν ἀχλὺς ἐοικυῖα ὁμίχλῃ· διαλιπούσα δὲ ὀλίγον γίνεται νέφος ἢ ἀχλὺς, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἅλλα ἐπαγομένη τῶν νεφῶν, ὑετὸν τοῖς Ἀρκάσις ἐς τὴν γῆν κατιέναι ποιεῖ.* Here there are several things to note. First, a prayer and sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> Kuhnert (*ibid.*, p. 1581) says that its age is entirely unknown and certainly not to be determined from the date of the inscription.



precedes the magic rite. The prayer, though offered by the priest of Zeus, was obviously offered not to Zeus, but to Hagno, the nymph of the spring (*προσευξάμενος ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ*). The sacrifice (*καὶ θύσας*) may have been offered to Zeus, but Pausanias gives us no information on this point. The water is stirred (*ἀνακινήσαντος τοῦ ὕδατος*) probably to disturb the nymph in her lair and arouse her to do her duty. The instrument used is the branch of a tree which is sacred to Zeus, with a view perhaps of bringing the water-nymph into relations with the God of the Sky.<sup>1</sup> Finally, it may be observed that we have no evidence that this rite was practised in Arcadia in classical times or that anything like it was ever practised by other than Arcadian Greeks.

The other case is earlier and belongs in the city of Crannon in Thessaly. Our authority for it is twofold: Antigonus (*Hist. Mirab.* 15), writing in the third century B.C., and coins of Crannon of the fourth century B.C. Antigonus tells us that on the seal of the city are represented two ravens (or crows, *κόρακες*) perched on a bronze chariot, and that the chariot is there because *ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένη χαλκῇ ἡν, ὅταν αὐχμὸς ᾗ, σείοντες ὕδωρ αἰτοῦνται τὸν θεόν, καὶ φασὶ γίνεσθαι*. Here again we have a prayer accompanying the magic rite; no god is named, but perhaps we have a right to suppose that Zeus was addressed. Antigonus's story of the chariot is fully borne out by the coins still extant (for illustrations, see Haym, *Del Tesoro Britannico*, II, p. 122; Gardner, *Cat. Greek Coins, Thessaly to Aetolia*, pl. II, 13; Furtwängler, *o.c.*, p. 469). They show a chariot either with heavy spokeless wheels or with wheels having bars in the form of a double cross instead of spokes. On it rests a large amphora. Furtwängler is no doubt right in supposing that, when used as a rain-charm, the chariot was shaken or rolled back and forth and that thus water was caused to spill out of the vase. Thus we have a case of sympathetic magic, the noise of the chariot imitating thunder and the

<sup>1</sup> Modern instances in a measure though not exactly parallel to this proceeding are cited by Mannhardt and others; for the literature, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 113.



spilling of the water imitating rain. Observe, however, that prayer is offered during the magic rite.

These two instances of prayers for rain, accompanied each by its own magic rite, are found existing, the one in Arcadia in the latter part of the second century A.D., the other in Thessaly in the fourth and third centuries B.C. We have found as yet nothing of the sort in Attica, but here may be discussed a passage in Furtwängler's *Masterpieces* (pp. 469-471), in which he describes the impression of a seal<sup>1</sup> found in a little terracotta pyramid of the common sort. This impression represents "the upper part of an unclothed female form, bending far back, and looking up towards heaven. The left hand is raised before her face, the right grasps her long dishevelled hair, which streams down behind. The figure expresses an urgent and pathetic entreaty to heaven. The body is cut off in its lower part, and rests on a kind of car, with a wheel of that old-fashioned sort which, in place of radiating spokes, has bars in the form of a double cross. . . . The cart of our seal . . . has round it a peculiar fringed rim; there is also something projecting at the top before and behind the woman's body. It looks exactly as though the cart was covered with cut grass, corn, or the like." Such is Furtwängler's description, and he adds that the seal came to the Berlin Museum from a private collection in Athens, that the quality of the clay seems to show that it is of Attic workmanship, and that it might perhaps belong to the fourth or third century B.C. His reason for describing and illustrating this seal is because he thinks that the woman's figure gives us the type of the goddess Earth as she was represented in the *ἄγαλμα* which Pausanias saw in the Acropolis (see above, p. 91). But in the course of his remarks he is led to speak of rain-charms in ancient and modern times, and though his language is vague (perhaps purposely so), yet it seems probable that he means to suggest that, at times of drought in Attica, an image of the goddess Earth was carried about in a car as represented in the seal.

<sup>1</sup> In the Berlin Museum, Antiquarium, T. C. *Inv.* 6787.



If there is anything in the arguments which I have already used respecting the goddess Earth as *καρποφόρος*, it would seem improbable that in the fourth or third century B.C. an image of her was employed in Attica as a rain-charm. Further, in the illustration of the seal as given by Furtwängler, the attitude of the female figure seemed to me to be an attitude not of prayer, but of orgiastic enthusiasm. Again, the front of the cart seemed to be fashioned into the shape of a goat's head. I therefore obtained, through the kind offices of my friend Dr. von Mach, a cast of the seal from Berlin, so that I might see whether the illustration (a drawing) had been made with exactness. No essential difference appeared in the cast, except that what still seems to me a goat's head was not so clear as it is in the drawing. The attitude of the female figure is wholly different from that in which Gaia appears in prayer either on the vase of Aristophanes or the frieze of Pergamon, nor is the position of her body nor the gestures of the hands (the left has the palm turned toward the face of the woman, not *supina*) such as are found in any other representation of prayer known to me. On the contrary, the attitude strongly suggests that of a Maenad (see illustrations in Roscher, *s.v. Maenaden*, especially p. 2279) or other female attendant of Dionysus, and such a being is, I believe, represented in the seal. The work may be merely the fancy of its creator, or possibly it may represent, though with some freedom, one of the train of the god Dionysus that escorted him in the marriage procession which took place during the festival of the Anthesteria in Athens, when he was accompanied by Horae, Nymphae, and Bacchae (Philostratus, *Apollon.*, p. 73, 12, Kayser; cf. A. Mommsen, *Hecortologie*, p. 357, *Feste Athens*, p. 394). It is true that we are not told in the literature that these particular attendants proceeded in wagons (neither does the literature say anything of a procession in which the goddess Earth was drawn about as a rain-charm); but the use of wagons for the maskers and the public in the processions, both at the Anthesteria and at other festivals of Dionysus, is well known (see Mommsen, *Hecortologie*, Index, *s.v. ἄμαξα*).



I have thus endeavored to show that Furtwängler's is not the only possible explanation of the device on the terracotta pyramid in Berlin, and that consequently it cannot be accepted as certain evidence for the use of an image of Gaia as a rain-charm in Athens.<sup>1</sup> This completes my account of all that I have found about rain-gods and rain-charms among the Greeks,<sup>2</sup> and, before summarizing what has been treated above, I turn to the Romans.

Here the material is even slighter, and there seems to be nothing on the subject in literature before the Augustan period. Virgil is the first poet to mention prayers for rain, and his is but a casual allusion. In the *Georgics* (1, 157), he remarks that unless you use the hoe, and scare off the birds, and prune away the shade,

votisque vocaveris imbrem,

you will not get a crop. Here no special god is mentioned. Ovid, when describing the *Paganalia* in the *Fasti* (1, 681 ff.), in his address to Ceres and Tellus says :

Cum serimus, caelum ventis aperite serenis :  
cum latet, aetheria spargite semen aqua.

But the passage does not prove that either deity was thought of as a rain-god. They are merely addressed as being special divinities of the *Paganalia*.

The phrase 'Jupiter Pluvius' is so familiar in English that it is a surprise to learn that it is extremely rare in Latin. It has not been found in inscriptions and seems to occur only three times in the literature, each time in poetry. None of the passages can be used to prove that the Romans ever

<sup>1</sup> I must add, however, that I have been privately informed that Dr. Rubensohn has found, in the course of the excavations in Paros, a seal similar to the one described by Furtwängler and that it bears an inscription signifying that the female figure is Gaia. I know no further details about it.

<sup>2</sup> The passage in Diodorus Siculus (5, 55) about the Telchines in Rhodes, 'who are said to have been wizards and able to bring on clouds, and rain, and hail,' relates wholly to mythical times, and contains no suggestion of such practices among Greeks in the author's own day.



prayed to *Iuppiter Pluvius* for rain. The first is in Tibullus, 1, 7, 26,<sup>1</sup> when, in addressing the Nile, he says :

Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,  
arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Iovi.

The second is in Statius (*Theb.* 4, 758), a passage kindly pointed out to me by Professor Kirby Smith. Here Adrastus, at a time of drought, meets Hypsipyle in a wood, and, as if he took her for a goddess or water-nymph, addresses her much in the tone in which Aeneas addresses the disguised Venus in the first book of the *Aeneid*:

Da fessis in rebus opem, seu turbidus amnis  
seu tibi foeda palus : nihil hac in sorte pudendum,  
nil humile est : tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris  
pro Iove.

And the third passage is found in a poem on the months, contained in Codex Vossianus Q. 86 (Riese, *Anth. Lat.* No. 395). The quatrain on December begins :

Annua sulcatae coniecti semina terrae  
pascit hiems ; pluvio de Iove cuncta madent.

In the second and third of these passages the use of the word *Iuppiter* seems to be purely metaphorical ; it no more denotes the god than do *Iuppiter uvidus* in Virgil (*G.* 1, 418), *madidum Iovem* in Martial (7, 36, 1), or *sub Iove frigido* in Horace (*C.* 1, 1, 25). The first passage is, in my opinion, different from these, although Dissen says : "non est prosopoeia, sed metaphorica dictio." But inasmuch as the context contains the thought which we have already found in Herodotus and Isocrates (see above, p. 84), that the Nile makes Egypt independent of the rain, it seems to me probable that Tibullus is employing a literary commonplace taken from the Greek, and that he uses the phrase as a translation of *Ζεὺς ὀμβριος* or *ὑέτιος*.<sup>2</sup> However this may be, it is obvious

<sup>1</sup> This is the passage quoted by Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 4, 2, 2, but attributed by him (or by his copyist) to Ovid.

<sup>2</sup> Another translation, probably, is *imbricator* used in a list of titles of Jupiter by Apuleius (*de Mundo*, 37, p. 371, Goldbacher).



that none of the three passages prove that there was any worship of Jupiter as a rain-god in Rome or Italy.

But there is an inscription, and only one, which shows that this worship was known to Romans or Italians (*C.I.L.* 9, 324). It consists of but two words: IOVI PLVVIA[LI]. It is in the Naples Museum, but its provenance is, unfortunately, entirely a matter of conjecture, as Mommsen recognizes in his note in the *Corpus*.<sup>1</sup> Tantalizing indeed that we should learn no more from this our only stone!

In Petronius, however, we find a passage which gives us certain important details. One of the guests at Trimalchio's dinner-party grumbles out (*Sat.* 44):

Nemo Iovem pili facit, sed omnes opertis oculis bona sua com-  
putant. Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis,  
mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant. Itaque statim urceatim  
plovebat: aut tunc aut nunquam: et omnes redibant udi tanquam  
mures.

Here we have a regular ceremony, — a procession of matrons, barefooted and with hair dishevelled, going up to the 'Clivus' of the town to pray to Jupiter for rain. The words *antea ibant* show that the ceremony had been abandoned in the speaker's own time, — whether Petronius intended that time to be the year 14 B.C.<sup>2</sup> or even so late as the reign of Nero.<sup>3</sup> The dinner-party was given in a Roman colony in Campania, but which colony Petronius had in mind is, as every scholar knows, a much discussed question.<sup>4</sup> The passage therefore

<sup>1</sup> Canusium has been conjectured, on what slight grounds the note of Mommsen shows. Yet Carter in his *de Deorum Romanorum Cognominibus*, p. 51, says positively: "Canusi, cf. Horat. *S.* 1, 5, 91." It would be a delightful coincidence if that verse of Horace could be illustrated by an inscription found on the spot! But I think it probable that Horace's words led to the guess that our inscription was found in Canusium.

<sup>2</sup> See Hayley, *Quaest. Petron.* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, II, pp. 4-23.

<sup>3</sup> See Hayley, *ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> In favor of Puteoli (upon which Hayley fixed, *ibid.*, pp. 23-40) is an inscription showing that there was a spot there called the 'Clivus' (*C.I.L.* 10, 1698), doubtless in imitation of the *Clivus Capitolinus* in Rome; for similar imitations in the colonies and provinces, see Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms* <sup>6</sup>, III, p. 198.



affords us no direct evidence that the ceremony ever took place in Rome.<sup>1</sup> Further it is important to observe that, so far as our evidence goes, this ceremony was carried out only by the married women (*stolatae*), without the participation of magistrates, and that it was obsolete in the town about which Petronius was writing. These limitations, especially the last, seem to be overlooked by many scholars who have treated the ceremony described by Petronius as if it were certainly identical with one which we find existing about one hundred and thirty years later and more, in the time of Tertullian.

In this ecclesiastical writer, who flourished in the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, there are two passages which make it certain that a rite, the purpose of which was to obtain rain from Jupiter, was sanctioned by the State and practised not uncommonly in times of drought by the pagans of his day; and it even seems probable (though not certain) that it was practised in Rome itself. In both passages he uses the term *nudipedalia* of the whole or a part of the rite; in one Jupiter is mentioned as the god worshipped in connexion with the rite; in the other we find magistrates taking part, but not in their purple and with *fascēs* reversed. The first is in the *Apologeticus* (40), a work addressed to the provincial magistrates about 200 B.C. Tertullian is drawing a contrast between the pagans and the Christians in their behavior at times of crises; for example, in droughts, you pagans, he says:

quotidie pasti statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponis et lupanariis operatis, aquilicia Iovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denuntiatis, caelum apud capitolium quaeritis, aversi ab ipso et deo et caelo.

In the other passage, in *de Ieiunio* (16), one of the works on Christian duties and therefore addressed to Christians, written about seventeen or eighteen years later, we find Tertullian arguing that this self-humiliation of the pagans is something after which even his flock may take pattern:

<sup>1</sup> This seems the only safe statement to make. Hayley (*ibid.*, p. 25, n. 1) held that Petronius was describing a Roman ceremony, while Fowler (*Roman Festivals*, p. 232) says that he was surely not writing of Rome.



Sed et omnem ταπεινοφρόνησιν ethnici agnoscunt. Cum stupet caelum et aret annus, nudipedalia denuntiantur, magistratus purpuras ponunt, fasces retro avertunt, precem indignant, hostiam instaurant.

And he goes on to remark that other rites for other purposes are held *apud quasdam colonias*.

The *nudipedalia* mentioned in both passages may be a procession of matrons alone such as Petronius described, but it seems more likely that the magistrates marched in it. The word *capitolium*, in the phrase *caelum apud capitolium quaeritis* (*Apol.*), may possibly be taken with Preller<sup>1</sup> and others as referring to the Capitol in Rome; but from Plautus down it is occasionally used of the citadel of any town, regularly of a colony's,<sup>2</sup> and in ecclesiastical writers it may signify any pagan temple.<sup>3</sup> So far, therefore, we have no proof of the occurrence of rain-making rites in the city of Rome. In the same passage occurs a new word, *aquilicia*, in the phrase *aquilicia Iovi immolatis*, which appears to correspond to the phrase *hostiam instaurant* in the second passage. Taken together, the two appear to mean that some sacrifice was offered to Jupiter as a means of 'eliciting' rain from him. This new word (I mean new in our course of investigation) occurs elsewhere only in Paulus's excerpts from Festus's epitome of the dictionary of Verrius Flaccus (p. 2).

Aquaelicism dicitur, cum aqua pluvialis remediis quibusdam elicitur, ut quondam, si creditur, manali lapide in urbem ducto.

From Tertullian and Paulus, as well as from etymology, it is obvious that the word was a general term signifying any sacred rite for getting rain. Tertullian gives as an example a sacrifice accompanied by the *nudipedalia*; Paulus gives the use of the *manalis lapis*. There is no evidence that the *manalis lapis* was ever used except in Rome, perhaps none that the *nudipedalia* ever took place in Rome, and certainly none that the *manalis lapis* was ever carried in the procession called *nudipedalia*. Yet the two distinct rites are jumbled

<sup>1</sup> *Köm. Myth.* I, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Friedländer, *Sitteng. Roms*, III, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> So in Cyprian, Jerome, Prudentius, and Tertullian himself; see Du Cange, *s.v.*



together and made to form one ceremony by Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverw.* III<sup>2</sup>, p. 262), Purser (Smith's *Dict. Antig.* s.v. *aquaelicism*), Aust (Roscher's *Lex.* II, p. 658), and others. And this, though Preller kept them apart (*Röm. Myth.*<sup>3</sup> I, p. 354; cf. Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. *aquaelicism*, and Fowler, *Rom. Festivals*, p. 232, n. 2). He was right; for the *nudipedalia* was an act of worship, while the use of the *manalis lapis* must be classed with magic rites, since neither Jupiter nor any other god is mentioned to whom it was sacred.

The passage already cited from Paulus shows that the *manalis lapis* was no longer employed in his time, that is, in the eighth century A.D. Another passage in the same writer reads thus:

Manalem vocabant lapidem etiam petram quandam, quae erat extra portam Capenam iuxta aedem Martis, quam cum propter nimiam siccitatem in urbem pertraherent, insequeretur pluvia statim, eumque, quod aquas manaret, *manalem lapidem* dixere (p. 93, Thewrewk, cf. 128 M.).

From this we get the further information that the *manalis lapis* was a stone kept outside the Porta Capena, near the temple of Mars,<sup>1</sup> and that at times of drought it was drawn into the city. The imperfect tenses here, together with the word *quondam* in the former passage, show that the rite no longer existed in the time of Paulus, but they show nothing whatever about the time of Festus or of Verrius Flaccus. For it should require only a slight acquaintance with the Flaccus-Festus-Paulus Lexicon to see that Paulus generally altered Festus's present tenses to past, or inserted a phrase like *ut quondam*, whenever a thing which Festus described as extant in his day was no longer extant when Paulus wrote. And our evidence, slight, to be sure, but sufficient, shows that Festus did the like in epitomizing Flaccus. Little

<sup>1</sup> It seems impossible that the stone had anything to do with this temple, which is probably mentioned merely as a well-known landmark. It was nearly a mile outside the gate, on the left-hand side of the Via Appia; cf. Richter, *Topogr. von Rom*, in Müller's *Handbuch*, III, p. 886, and Gilbert, *Gesch. u. Topogr. der Stadt Rom*, II, p. 96 f.



if any attention is paid to these changes by modern writers on antiquities.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Mr. Warde Fowler, in his valuable and interesting *Roman Festivals* (p. 232, n. 2), speaks of the *manalis lapis* as only a tradition 'to judge by Festus,' whereas the fact is that we have nothing left of Festus's epitome of this part of Verrius Flaccus, and must therefore draw all our information from Paulus. He may be responsible for the *ut quondam* and the past tenses; so that the *manalis lapis*, for aught we know, *may* have been used in Festus's day, that is, in the second or third centuries A.D., though this seems improbable. Of course it is possible that the past tenses may be due to Verrius Flaccus himself; but that the stone was still in use shortly before his day, in the time of Varro, seems clear from the following passage in Nonius (p. 547, s.v. *trulleum*):

Trulleum, vas quo manus perluuntur. Varro de vita populi Romani lib. I. . . . et 'urceolum aquae manale vocamus quod eo aqua in trulleum effundatur. Vnde manalis lapis appellatur in pontificalibus sacris, qui tunc movetur cum pluviae exoptantur.'

From this passage it appears that the *pontifices* had charge of the stone; so also says the so-called Servius (Schol. Danielis, *Aen.* 3, 175):

Manare: hinc et lapis manalis quem trahebant pontifices quotiens siccitas erat.

This is all that is left to us by the ancient writers<sup>2</sup> on the subject of the *manalis lapis*. Of the method of using it to procure rain, we learn that the *pontifices* 'drew it' (*ducto, pertraherent*, Paulus; *trahebant*, Servius; cf. *movetur*, Varro) into the city; further, from the words of Paulus, *quod aquas manaret, manalem lapidem dixere*, and from the fact that to Varro its shape or the manner of using it or both suggested a resemblance to a jug or ewer (*urceolus*), we may conjecture

<sup>1</sup> I enter no deeper into them here because the matter forms part of a special study in Festus upon which a student in Harvard University is now engaged.

<sup>2</sup> I deliberately omit Fulgentius, *Expos. Serm. Antiq. s.v.* (p. 112, Helm), for I am convinced not only by what has been published on the subject, but also by a thorough investigation of my own, that it is impossible to sift the corn (if corn there be) from the chaff which lies in that work.



that the stone was hollow and filled with water which was either poured from it (so Gilbert, *Gesch. u. Topogr. der Stadt Rom*, II, p. 154, n. 1; Fowler, *o.c.*, p. 233) or shaken from it as the stone was moved along. This will give us a case of sympathetic magic, paralleled by the case of the amphora at Crannon (see above, p. 95).<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth repeating that (unlike that case) no god (Jupiter for instance) seems to have been invoked in connexion with the *manalis lapis*. Such rites, as Mr. Fowler remarks, need not necessarily be united with the name of a god, and I fully agree with him that we should "remember that the farther we probe back into old Italian rites, the less distinctly can we expect to be able to connect them with particular deities." It seems probable that the rite of the *manalis lapis* was very old; it is the only means of getting rain which we have found practised in the city of Rome; and we have no certain evidence that Jupiter was ever worshipped there as a rain-god.

An attempt has, however, been made by Aust (Roscher's *Lexicon*, II, p. 656 ff.), on the basis of a suggestion by Gilbert (*Stadt Rom*, *ibid.*), to show that *Iuppiter Elicius*, who had an altar 'on the Aventine,'<sup>2</sup> was nothing but a rain-god and that the *manalis lapis* belonged to his cult. Mr. Fowler looks upon this theory with grave suspicion; I confess that I see no real evidence whatever in favor of it. The ancient authors treat Jupiter Elicius as a god who had to do with augural rites interpretative or expiatory of strokes of lightning.<sup>3</sup> Now it is true that the title *Elicius* is like the latter part of the word *aquaelicitum*, and it was this resemblance which led Gilbert to suggest that the *manalis lapis* was part of the cult of Jupiter Elicius. Aust goes farther. Without

<sup>1</sup> Other conjectures are of course possible: for example, that water was splashed upon the stone or that it was given a bath in the Tiber, forms of rain-charms which are closely paralleled by those described by Frazer (*Golden Bough*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 109 ff.) and others whose works he cites.

<sup>2</sup> Varro, *L. L.* 6, 94; Liv. 1, 20, 7.

<sup>3</sup> But it seems probable that they also thought of him in connexion with the augural calling down of omens by lightning. To the passages cited by Aust should be added Plin. *N. H.* 28, 13; Manilius, 1, 104; Seneca, *N. Q.* 2, 49. Cf. also Daremberg et Saglio, *s.v. Fulmen*, p. 1356.



noting how far away from an altar 'on the Aventine' was the point near the temple of Mars where the rain-charm was kept,<sup>1</sup> and without observing that *aquaelicism* was a general term signifying any rite by which rain was sought, he jumbles together Varro, Petronius, Tertullian, and Paulus, the *nudi-pedalia* with the *manalis lapis*, to make thereof one single ceremony, the only Roman *aquaelicism*, and this, he thinks, constituted the entire cult of the Aventine god. To reach this conclusion he requires us to believe that the ancient authors<sup>2</sup> were entirely mistaken in their account of the functions of that god. *Credat Apella, non ego; et Elicius securum agat aevum.*

This is all that I have been able to collect on the subject of rain-gods and rain-charms among the Greeks and Romans. Before summarizing briefly the results, I want to enter a disclaimer. It has been by no means my intention to make light of the anthropological method of research or to uphold the philological as against it. I might have illustrated these remarks and made them far more interesting and fruitful by drawing from the rich stores of customs and myths of many peoples which have been gathered in recent years by eminent scholars; to mention names would be invidious. But I have deliberately foregone that opportunity, because it seemed to me that a time had come when it would be worth while to bring together what philology has to tell us upon our subject, to separate out facts from theories with scrupulous (even too

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert was led to bring these points into a somewhat intimate relation on account of his theory about a primitive independent community upon and near the Aventine. On this theory see Hülsen's brief remark in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Aventinus*, p. 2283.

<sup>2</sup> Even admitting Aust's contention that the single source of all the authors on this point was Valerius Antias, it does not follow that this much-abused annalist did not tell the truth about the *kind* of god (the only real point at issue) that Jupiter Elicius was. We know Valerius chiefly as an unconscionable exaggerator of the numbers in the census and of men killed or captured in battle. Such distortions of truth are explainable; but what possible reason could he have had for describing a rain-god as a lightning-god, or what right have we to suppose that he was ignorant of the general purport of ceremonies which went on in his own town round an altar which was probably still standing fifty years later in the time of Varro?



scrupulous) care, and to submit the whole to whom it may concern, merely as *mémoires pour servir*, whether to anthropologists or philologists or both. What follows, therefore, should be taken with due regard to the limitations which I have set about my method of procedure.

The Greek ante-classical and classical writers are silent on the subject of prayers for rain and rain-charms. The subject first appears in the Alexandrine age, and most of our information about it is due to Pausanias. The earliest writer who mentions Zeus the rain-god as an object of worship is Lycophron (p. 84). But neither he nor the compiler of the Parian Chronicle (p. 85) refers to a contemporary worship, since they are dealing with myths. The first contemporary account is that of the worship of the Seasons in Athens as noted by Philochorus (p. 85); then comes the procession to Zeus Hyetios in the island of Cos (p. 85), and these with the prayer and rain-chariot magic rite at Crannon in Thessaly (p. 95), are our only contemporary evidences for rain-prayers or rain-charms on Greek soil prior to the Christian era. Only one of these is evidence for Greece proper. About one hundred and seventy-five years after Christ we find in Marcus Aurelius's "prayer of the Athenians" (p. 88), in an inscription in Phrygia (p. 88), and in Pausanias's accounts of the worship of Zeus Ombrios or Apemios on Mt. Parnes (p. 89), of Zeus and Hera on Arachnaeum (p. 90), and of the magic rite in Arcadia (p. 94), our only remaining contemporary evidences.<sup>1</sup> We find besides in Pausanias mention of Zeus Hyetios at Lebadea (p. 89) and Argos (p. 89), and of Zeus Ombrios on Hymettus (p. 89), but accompanied by no statement that worship was actually going on at these places at the time of writing.

Finally, we have observed that our evidence for rain-prayers in Athens rests upon Philochorus and Marcus Aurelius alone (p. 88).

In Latin even less is to be found. From Virgil and Ovid (p. 98) it is clear that it was recognized that farmers

<sup>1</sup> The Orphic Hymn to the Clouds (p. 91) I do not venture to attempt to date.



ought to pray for rain. The inscription to Jupiter Pluvialis of unknown provenance and date (p. 100) points in the same direction. The *Manalis Lapis*, the use of which cannot be proved for a time later than Varro's day, is the only rain-charm described by the Latin writers and the only rite for obtaining rain which is proved to have been practised in Rome itself (p. 102). Finally, in the Christian era, Petronius (p. 100) mentions a procession of matrons who, before the day of his story, had been wont to pray for rain to Jupiter; and about 200 A.D. a similar procession, the *Nudipedalia*, accompanied by sacrifices to Jupiter, the whole authorized by the State and apparently pretty generally practised, is described by Tertullian (p. 101).

From these summaries it seems obvious that rain-prayers and rain-charms were (to use no stronger term) unusual in the best period of Greek and Roman culture, that is to say, in the fifth and early part of the fourth centuries B.C. in Greece, and during the fifty years which lie on each side of the beginning of the Christian era in the history of Rome. We ought not to be surprised at reaching this conclusion, for these were periods in which early beliefs and primitive explanations of natural phenomena found little favor. Neither is the revival of such beliefs, together with the incoming of new rites from the East, surprising in the ensuing centuries of both Greece and Rome with their decaying culture and their crazes for religious innovations. But there may be an entirely different reason for this remarkable absence of allusions to rain-gods and rain-prayers in the literature and inscriptions. It appears to me very probable that in times of drought both Greeks and Romans were in the habit of praying to the divinities of the well-springs, fountains, and sources of streams, and of the streams themselves, rather than to Zeus or Jupiter or any other god for rain, — that is, that they offered vows and prayers to the Nymphae or Lymphae and similar divinities. Evidence pointing toward this begins with Homer<sup>1</sup> and is to be found scattered through the authors

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 17, 211 f., 240.



both Greek and Latin and in many inscriptions. In the Arcadian rite described by Pausanias (p. 94) we observed that it was the nymph Hagno, not Zeus, whom the priest addressed. Rain followed in this case; but whether ordinarily the nymphs were asked directly for rain or whether the custom was to leave it to them to fill wells and streams in ways unspecified, are questions into which I have no time now to enter. I merely suggest the topic to future investigators.



## VII. — On Some Ancient and Modern Etymologies.

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*Periero* and *peiero* have long puzzled scholars. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 199, says: "*Pejĕro* and *ĕjĕro* (cf. *conierat*, *coniurat*, *G.G.L.* IV. 322, 33) have not yet been thoroughly explained." See also p. 587. More recently Ferdinand Sommer, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Bd. XI. (1900), p. 56, says: "Sehr zweifelhaft ist *pĕiĕrare* (Osthoff, *Perfekt*, S. 115 Anm.) das, falls es zu *peior* gehört, auch die Vokalstufe \**pĕiōs*- enthalten könnte; das Wort ist und bleibt eine crux; auch die Ausführungen von Stolz (*H.G.* 170) befriedigen nicht."

Before Osthoff, Alcuin had connected *peiero* with *peius*, but in a different way, cf. Keil, *G.L.* VII., p. 307. "*Periurus qui male iurat, peiero vero verbum r non debet habere; est enim quasi peius iuro.*" This was doubtless a current popular etymology, which did not lose sight of the connection of the word with *iuro*. Osthoff, in 1884, explained *peiero* as a denominative from *peius* in the original sense of "entstellen, verhunzen." In 1885 Gustav Meyer, *Zeits. für Oest. Gym.* 36, p. 280, gave a similar explanation. Brugmann, *Gdr.* II., p. 402, admits the explanation as possible. L. Havet, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, VI., p. 22, without mentioning Osthoff, gives essentially his view. "*Peierare* signifie donc à l'origine 'rendre pire, altérer, fausser, violer.' *Ius peieratum* est un droit corrompu (par faux serment). L'étymologie populaire crut voir dans ce dérivé de *peius* un composé de *per* et de *iūro*, doctrine qui ne paraît pas conciliable avec les lois phonétiques." Wharton, in his *Etyma Latina* (1890), has "*pĕjero*, swear falsely; 'make worse, alter, violate,' fr. *pĕjes*- (cf. *mājestas* beside *mājor*)." Despite this array of authority, it seems to me that there is very little to



be said for this explanation. It disregards the fact that *perierare* is better attested than *peierare* in Plautus, and ignores the fact that such denominatives from comparatives are of late development in the history of the Latin language. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that *deiero*, which is found in Plautus, although evidently a compound of *iuro*, owes its *e* solely to the analogy of *peiero*. A common explanation must be found, I think, for *periero*, *deiero*, *eiero*, and the form *conierat* (*coierat*) found only in Glossaries and explained as *coniurat*. The difficulty of course is in accounting for the short *e* in these compounds, and I do not think it is met by assuming, with Stolz, the existence of a primitive verb *iūro* with short *u* alongside of *iūro*.

Before proceeding to state my view, I shall speak briefly of the forms found in Plautus. There are some sixteen cases of the verb *periuro* (*pericro*) in Plautus, in three of which the reading is disputed. Only seven of these passages are found in the Ambrosianus, namely, Cist. 500, Merc. 539, Poen. 480, 1242, Pseud. 354, 1057, Stich. 192. In all except the last of these passages A has the spelling with *u*. In Stich. 192,

ni vere perierit, si cenassit domi,

Bugge would read *perieraverit*, but Leo takes *perierit* in the sense of *interierit*. In Poen. 1242, A has *periures* with the other Mss. where the metre requires *perieres*. In two other passages not found in A, Bacch. 1030 and 1042, the best Mss. have *periurem* and *periuret* where the metre requires the form with *ē*. *Pericrat* is well attested for As. 293. There are nine passages where, so far as the metre is concerned, forms with *e* might be substituted for the better attested forms with *u*. Moreover, in Stich. 229, A alone has *perieratiunculas*, the other Mss. having *periuratiunculas*. It is quite possible, therefore, that *periero* was the more common form in Plautus, and that *periuro* has been substituted for it not simply in the three passages where the metre requires *pericro*. The forms found are *periuras* Poen. 480, *perieras* Ussing, Leo, *perierat* As. 293. *Peicrat* Men. 814 without Ms. authority Schoell. The Mss. read *delurat* or *delirat*, and Leo reads *deierat*.



*Perierant* Truc. 30 Schoell. *Perierandum* Leo and GS., *periurabo* As. 322, *periuravisti* Pseud. 354, *periuravit* Merc. 539. *Perieraverit*? or *perierit* Stich. 192. *Pericrem* Bacch. 1030, *periurem* BCDFZ, *perieres* Poen. 1242, *periurus* A with other Mss., *perieret* Bacch. 1042. *Periuret* Mss., *periuraris* As. 562 and 570, *periuraverint* Curc. 268, *periurare* Cist. 500 and Pseud. 1057.

For the existence of the form without *r*, *peiero*, the evidence is very slight for Plautus, although it is occasionally found in FZ and has been introduced by editors (cf. the critical apparatus to Asin. 293, Bacch. 1042, Poen. 480 and 1242, Pseud. 1057, Truc. 30). The adjective *peiurus* and the noun *peiurium* are somewhat better attested. See Studemund, *Rhein. Mus.* 21, 588.

The explanation, which I have to propose, starts from the form IOVESTOD of the Stele recently discovered in the Forum, which, with Hülsen, Skutsch, Thurneysen, and other scholars, I regard as the earlier form of *iustod*, *iusto*.

In *I.F.* XI., p. 342, v. Grienberger explains *iovesat* at the beginning of the Duenos inscription as equal to *iurat*, translating "es schwört bei den Göttern, der mich sendet." I do not think that this makes good sense, and v. Grienberger himself admits his inability to establish the connection with what follows.<sup>1</sup>

Yet I think every one must admit that the earlier form of *iurat* would have been *iovesat*, which by syncopation gave *iousat* and then by rhotacism *iourat*. The diphthong *ou* is abundantly attested in inscriptions.

In the compound verb the phonetic development was somewhat different. In the early period the accent would of course rest upon the preposition. Now, just as *dénovo* gives *dénuo*, *éndovo* *induo* (cf. Umb., *anovihimu*), *túpover tú puer* (cf. *Archiv*, XII., p. 281), so *périovero* would give *périucro*, or, in the stage before rhotacism, *périoveso* would have given *périncso*. One further change took place.

<sup>1</sup> I have attempted, *Harvard Studies*, XI. 164, reading *ioveset*, to explain this as the older form of *iouset*, *iussit*, an explanation which also rests indirectly on the assumption that *iovestod* equals *iustod*.



*Minerva* is now explained (cf. Brugmann, *Gdr.* I.,<sup>2</sup> pp. 232, 319, 324) as coming from \**menes-oya* through *menesua*, *Minerva*, *Minerva*, *larva* as from *lasua*, \**lasoya*. So I think in *periuero*, resulting from *periovero*, there was a tendency to pronounce the vowel *u* as *v* (English *w*), but the difficulty of pronouncing *v* after consonantal *i* caused the *u* to drop out. Thus we get instead of *periuero*, *periero*, and similarly in *eiero* and *deiero*. By this theory the short *e* is fully explained, and there is no necessity to dissociate *peiero* from *iuro* on the one hand or from *eiero* and *deiero* on the other.

The dropping of *v(u)* after a consonant is seen in *aperio*, *operio* for *apverio*, *opverio*, cf. Brugmann, *I.F.* I., p. 175, in *battere* for *battuere*, *battalia* for *battualia*, cf. *Archiv*, I., p. 249 and X., p. 421, and Schuchardt, *Vocalismus*, II., p. 470. The Appendix Probi, *Archiv*, XI., p. 329 has *februarius non febrarius*. See the note of Heraeus. *Februarius* is abundantly attested in inscriptions and has its descendant in the Italian *Febbraio*. It is found also in a papyrus of the first century, first published in 1900.<sup>1</sup> Schuchardt gives (II., p. 467 f.) many examples of *u* dropped in vulgar Latin. So *Ianarius* for *Ianuarius*, *Conflentis* for *Confluentes*, which gives us the modern Coblenz.

An interesting English parallel is seen in *swear* = *iuro*, whereas in the compound *answer* the *w*, although written, is not pronounced.

As to the form *peiero*, which seems not to be clearly established for Plautus, but which is frequent enough in later Latin (see Georges, *Lexikon der Lat. Wortformen*, s.v.), I should explain the dropping of the *r* as due to the same causes which have led to its disappearance in *praestigia*, *crebescere*, and other words. A form like *perierare* or *perieraris* with three successive *r*'s was difficult to pronounce, but neither the second nor the third *r* could be dropped without making the form unintelligible and consequently the first was dropped. Cf. Grammont, *La Dissimulation consonantique*, p. 28. The forms *deierare* and *eierare* may also have contributed to the disappearance of the *r*, which was further helped on by a popular etymology connecting the word with *peius*.

<sup>1</sup> *Archives Militaires du 1<sup>er</sup> Siècle*, Jules Nicole et Charles Morel, Genève, 1900.



As to the form *periurare* little need be said. It is simply due to recomposition, to bring out more clearly the connection with *iuro*, at a period when the form *periero* had already become a little mysterious. So in Curc. 268 *periuraverint* follows *in iure iurando* of the line before, and in Pseud. 354 *periuravisti* takes up *iuravisti* of 352.

In the compounds *abiuro* and *adiuro*, only the forms with *u* are attested for Plautus. See Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*,<sup>1</sup> Fasc. I. So too in the case of *coniuro* although *conierat* is attested by glossaries. Editors read *deieravit*, Cas. 670 and *deiera*, Rud. 1336, although in the latter passage the Mss. have *deciura*. *Eiero* is not attested for Plautus, but occurs in later writers. *Exiuro* is found in a fragment of the Amph. For examples of *periero*, *peiero*, *deiero*, *eiero* in writers later than Plautus and in Inscriptions, see Georges, *Lex. der Lat. Wortformen*.

#### SOROR AND FRATER.

From Gellius, XIII. 10 we learn that the jurist Antistius Labeo derived *soror* from *seorsum*, and that Nigidius Figulus derived *frater* from *fere alter*, "*frater est dictus quasi fere alter*." Labeo and Nigidius were purists. They both believed in explaining Latin words from the Latin. Their etymologies are indefensible, but from another point of view they may have a certain interest and value. In deriving *soror* from *seorsum* Labeo evidently had in view the shorter form *sorsum*, which is found in Plautus and Lucretius.

The derivation of *frater* from *fere alter* implies a possible pronunciation of *frater* as *ferater* with the insertion of a parasitic *e*. Now it is quite possible that some persons should insert an *e* between *f* and *r* in pronunciation, when they would not do so in writing, just as Édouard, *Écriture et Prononciation du Latin savant et du Latin populaire*, p. 213, tells us that a Persian will pronounce *français* *ferançais*. So we find in inscriptions *Terebonio* and *Terebuni* for the usual *Trebonius*, cf. *C.I.L.* I. 190, and *Ephem. Epig.* I., p. 29, n. 116. Other

<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that these are later compounds formed when *iuro* was the only form in use of the simple verb.



similar examples of the same tendency given by Édon are *Alexandiri*, *Petiro*, *patiri*, *matiribus*, *materi*, *Geracilis* for *Gracilis*, *pateres*, *magisteres*, *arbiterio*, *teribunatu*, to which others might be added. The same possibility seems to be indicated by Varro's derivation of *Gracchus* from *gero* (cf. Charisius Keil, *G.L.* I., p. 87), although Wölfflin's recent derivation from *gracus*, the primitive of *graculus*, is more plausible. Servius and Donatus do not hesitate to derive *ars* from ἀρτή, suggesting that the nom. pl. may have sounded like *arctes*. Paulus, p. 10, gives as one derivation of *atrium* "*quod a terra oriatur quasi aterrium*." Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 93, following Meyer-Lübke, says that the development in Romance of a word like *patrem* suggests an almost trisyllabic pronunciation like *paterem*, and the Venerable Bede tried to do away with spondaic hexameters ending in words like *respergebat*, *argenti* by assuming a pronunciation *resperigebat*, *arigenti*, which reminds us at once of the anaptyctic vowel in Oscan in words like *aragetud*. A tendency of this sort in Latin can hardly be denied.

For the dropping of *l* before *t* there is little that we can compare in Latin, but in Oscan in this very word *l* is dropped in the *Tabula Bantina*, which has *atrud* for *altrud*, although elsewhere in Oscan the *l* is preserved in the few instances where the word occurs. Similarly the Umbrian drops *l* in *motar*, which corresponds to Lat. *multa*, fine, cf. von Planta, I., p. 299. In French of course *alter* becomes *autre*, but in some of the Romance dialects the *l* seems to have been totally lost. Thus Sardinian has *atter*, *atteru*, Calabrian *atru* and *atu*, Genoese *aotro* and *atro*, cf. Mohl, *Introduction à la Chronologie du Latin Vulgaire*, p. 278. It seems to me, then, that in giving the derivation of *frater* from *fere alter*, Nigidius may well have had in mind a dialectic pronunciation of *alter* in which the *l* was not distinctly heard.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We are not informed as to the birthplace of Nigidius Figulus, but it is perhaps interesting to note in this connection that the gentile name Nigidius is found according to Conway especially in Campanian and Sabine areas, *i.e.* exactly in those regions where *l* before *t* was not distinctly heard. Cf. Conway, *Italic Dialects*, II., p. 576.



The fact that Nigidius did derive *frater* from *ferē alter* may lend support to the view that in the expression *dies ater*, *ater* stands for an original *alter*. Mohl, p. 277, says: "Que \**ātru* ou \**ātru* pour \**altrum alterum* ait circulé dans l'Italie du Sud dès une époque très ancienne, c'est ce que montre le latin *diēs ater*, Varron, *Ling. Lat.*, VI. 4, 29: *Dies postridie Kalendas Nonas Idus appellati atri, quod per eos dies novi inciperent*. L'expression *diēs ater* signifie donc 'un jour d'une nouvelle série, d'une autre division.' Le mot nous reporte sans doute à l'époque où les Campaniens étaient encore les éducateurs de Rome, peut-être même au temps où Numa y introduisait le calendrier sabin." Before Mohl, Deecke had explained *ater* in the same way, but had attributed it to Etruscan influence. In *Die Falisker* (1888), p. 90, he says: "Es ist nämlich *ater* die etruskische Form für lat. *alter*, mit Wegfall des *l* vor *t*, wie im Beinamen *hatu* neben *haltu*, *faltu* lat. *Falto*." Mohl's view seems to me more probable. Wissowa in the article on *dies ater* in the new Pauly admits a similar meaning for *ater*. I quote his words: "Der Name *dies ater* hat mit *ater*, 'schwarz' nichts zu thun, sondern hängt, wie O. Gruppe (*Herm.* XV. 624) richtig gesehen hat, zusammen mit den Bildungen *Triatrus*, *Quinquatrus*, *Septimatrus* d.h. *post diem tertium*, *quintum*, *septimum* (Varro, *de l. l.* VI. 14. Fest. p. 254, die nur darin irren dass sie *Quinquatrus* etc. deuten *post diem quintum* etc. *Idus*, während natürlich der Ausgangspunkt der Zahlung jeder beliebige sein kann), bedeutet also nichts anderes als eben *dies postridianus*." Gruppe in the article referred to by Wissowa makes no attempt to connect *ater* with *alter*. He says: "Ueber den Ursprung des Wortes vermag ich eine Vermuthung nicht aufzustellen; was den Sinn betrifft, so scheint mir am wahrscheinlichsten, dass es etwa 'nach,' 'nachher' bedeutete." Deecke, however, op. cit., p. 91, says: "*triatrus*, ursprünglich wohl nach der zweiten Deklination, für \**tri-alter(us)*, eigentlich der 'drei-andere' d.i. 'drittnächste' Tag u.s.w." We have the distinct testimony of Festus to the fact that *Triatrus*, *Sexatrus*, and *Septematrus* were in use among the Tusculans and *Decimatrus* among the Faliscans. These words, therefore, were dialectic



and there is nothing to prevent our supposing that *Quinquatrus* was originally a dialectic form. I submit, therefore, that in view of Nigidius' etymology of *frater* and of the facts above stated in regard to *alter*, this etymology of Deecke's deserves more serious attention than it has received from scholars. Stolz, *Historische Grammatik*, p. 549, without any attempt to explain the intrusion of the *r*, connects the suffix *-atrus* with the suffix *-atus*. His words are "Weiter reiht sich hier auch an *trīm-ātu-s* (Analogiebildung nach *prim-ātu-s* Varro u.a.) 'Alter von drei Jahren' Col. Plin., das zugleich auch den Schlüssel enthält für *Quīnqu-ātrū-s* (\**quīnqu-ātu-s* 'Feier am fünften Tage') und die von Festus 340 Th. d. P. aufgeführten entsprechenden Bildungen *Decim-ātrū-s* (faliskisch) und *Septem-ātrū-s*, *Sex-ātrū-s*, *Tri-ātrū-s* (tusculanisch)." After this explanation, which does not explain, he coolly dismisses Deecke's view with the words "Eine andere sicher unhaltbare Vermuthung über diese Substantive findet man bei Deecke Die Falisker S. 90 f." Deecke is doubtless wrong in what he says about Etruscan influence, but not I think in connecting the words with *alter*, although there still remains some difficulty in regard to the declension of these forms. The most plausible supposition would be that *Quinquatrus* was influenced in its declension by *Idus*, *Idus* itself being an old adjective with a *u*-stem, cf. Brugmann, *Gdr.* II., p. 297. Compare also Sanskrit *trīr aktūn* and Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax*, I., p. 163.

In connection with Nigidius' etymology of *frater*, it may be interesting to note that Cicero, in *Ad fam.* II. 15, speaks of his brother Quintus as his *alter ego*. "*quem tamen si reliquisssem, dicerent iniqui non me plane post annum, ut senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alterum me reliquisssem.*" Voss, in his *Etymologicon*, goes so far as to say that in writing this, Cicero had in mind the etymology of Nigidius, but this is unnecessary. That *alter* and *ater* are often confused in Mss. I need not note. A famous example is Catullus, XCIII. 2,

*nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo,*

where all the Mss. have *alter* for *ater*.



## SALTEM.

Gellius, XII. 14, gives two etymologies for *saltem*, with both of which he declares himself unsatisfied, "*censuimus igitur amplius quaerendum.*" The second derivation makes *saltem* stand for *salutem*, with the extrusion of *u*. This seemed to Gellius clever but far-fetched. That it was current in antiquity is shown by the fact that Donatus and Servius both give it. Cf. Donatus, *ad Adel.* II. 2, 41 and Servius, *ad Aen.* IV. 327. This etymology need not be seriously considered. The other I give in the words of Gellius. "*Atque erat, qui diceret, legisse se in grammaticis commentariis P. Nigidii, saltem ex eo dictum, quod esset 'si aliter' idque ipsum dici solitum per defectionem, nam plenam esse sententiam 'si aliter non potest.' Sed id nos in isdem commentariis P. Nigidii, cum eos non, opinor, incuriose legissemus, nusquam invenimus.*" He goes on to state a very valid objection. "*Videntur autem verba ista 'si aliter non potest' a significatione quidem voculae huius, de qua quaerimus, non abhorrere. Set tot verba tamen in paucissimas litteras cludere, inprobae cuiusdam subtilitatis est.*" Wharton, in his *Etyma Latina*, derives *saltem* from *saltus*, leaping, 'swiftly, without difficulty.' Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 556, expresses himself more cautiously. "If *saltem* is Acc. Sg. of \**salti*-, a leap, lit. 'with a leap,' 'swiftly, easily, assuredly,' it has taken *-tem* by analogy of *autem*, *item*, etc."

The derivation from *salutem* shows that *saltem* was the recognized form, while *saltem* is late. In fact, with so many adverbs in *-tim* as *partim*, *statim*, etc., it is hard to comprehend why an original *saltem* should have been changed to *saltem*. Therefor it seems to me that this connection with *salio* must be given up. The derivation from *si aliter*, as thus stated, cannot be correct, but why may not *saltem* stand for an earlier *si altem*, *altem* being a syncopated form for *alitem*, an adverb from the stem *ali-* formed after the analogy of *item*? The early Latin, as we know from Paulus, had an adverb, *aliuta*, which does not appear in literature. Why may it not have had *alitem* in the sense of 'other-



wise,' later supplanted by *aliter*? For the elision of *si* and the subsequent contraction, we may compare *sis*, *sultis*, and *sodcs*. After the contraction took place, the derivation might easily have been forgotten, as it was in the case of *sirempse*, a word whose derivation is still in doubt. Whether *altem* or *alitem* was the original form of the adverb, I leave undecided. The analogy of *aliter* would favor *alitem*, and, according to F. Sommer, *I.F.* XI. 4, the pronoun *alter* goes back to an original \**aliteros*. *Altem* would then be the syncopated Allegro form of *alitem*. Syncope was doubtless very common in the early period of the language, and it is a question whether we can safely lay down such definite laws governing its action as has been attempted by von Planta and Sommer. To trace the development of meaning by which *saltem* arrived at the force of 'at least' is not easy, as it already has that force in the earliest literature, and the ordinary speaker in the time of Plautus had entirely lost sight of its origin, but we may note that as we often find *sin aliter* opposed to *si*, so we often find *saltem* following a clause with *si*. Terence, *Hec.* 635 ff., has :

Ego, Pamphile, esse inter nos, si fieri potest,  
Adfinitatem hanc sane perpetuam volo ;  
Sin est ut aliter tua siet sententia,  
Accipias puerum.

The latter proposition might have been abbreviated into *sin aliter*, *accipias puerum*, and we can see how *sin aliter* as an alternative might come to have the meaning of 'at least.' In *Trin.* 485,

- Semper tu hoc facito, Lesbonice, cogites,  
Id optumum esse tute uti sis optumus :
- Si id nequeas, saltem ut optumis sis proxumus.

At an earlier period of the language we can conceive of *saltem*, 'if otherwise,' taking the place of the clause *si id nequeas*, but in the time of Plautus it had lost this force and had come to mean 'at least.' Compare, *Ter. Eun.* 639, *si illud non licet, saltem hoc licebit*, also *Amph.* 438, *Quis ego sum saltem, si non sum Sosia ?* *Cas.* 298, *Nam si sic nil impetrare potero, saltem sortiar.*



So in a sentence like Cic. *ad Att.* IX. 6, 5, *eripe mihi hunc dolorem aut minue saltem*, we can conceive that at an earlier period *saltem* had the force of 'if otherwise,' *i.e.* 'if you can't do that.' By the association of ideas after a time this might easily assume the meaning of 'at least.' Some dim appreciation of this earlier force seems to have been present to the author of the etymology when he interpreted *saltem* as '*si aliter non potest.*'

#### NOTE ON *frequenter*.

Fairclough, in his commentary on Ter. *And.* 107, *una aderat frequens*, says: "*frequens* used instead of the adverb *frequenter*, which belongs to later Latin." This is a natural mistake, as the dictionaries give no instance earlier than the *Auctor ad Herennium*, who uses it four times, IV. 32, 46, 48, and 56. But Cato, a contemporary of Terence, uses *frequenter* (*de Agr.* 67, 1, *olcum frequenter capiant*). Cato also uses *rarenter* once, *de Agr.* 103, and we know from Nonius that it was used by Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Caecilius, Pomponius, and Novius. Later it crops up again in Gellius, Apuleius, and Macrobius. Now I think *rarenter* must have been formed on the analogy of *frequenter*. It was not necessary, as the early language had *raro* and *rare*, but as *raro* and *crebro* were paired, so *rarenter* and *frequenter*. Of course *frequenter* would not be cited by the grammarians, not being for them an unusual word. Indeed it is one of the words which later supplants *saepe*. Compare my article on Latin Glossaries in Vol. XV. of the *Transactions*, p. 139. Plautus, of course, does not use *frequenter*. His usual word is *saepe*, and *crebro* occurs infrequently. So Plautus does not use *rarenter*, but does use *raro* and *rare*. *Frequenter* must have been known in the time of Lucilius, but does not occur in his fragments, but neither does *crebro* or *raro*, both of which are earlier than Lucilius. In fact *saepe* is only found five times in Lucilius and *saepius* twice. I believe that, if we had a larger body of early Latin prose, we should find that *frequenter* was in common use, and that *rarenter*, as I have already said, was formed on the analogy of *frequenter*.



VIII. — *The Harpalos Case.*

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A REACTION against the extreme pro-Demosthenic views of Grote and Schaefer was inevitable. The better appreciation of the artificial rhetorical element in Demosthenes's speeches, the sharper testing of the truth of his assertions, and the examination of his policy in the light of universal, rather than of purely Athenian, interests, have contributed to a more just conception of his character and policy. But this reaction seems in danger of passing over into a tendency to disparage all of the efforts of the anti-Macedonian party, and to accept too readily whatever claims modern scholars may present as reflecting upon Demosthenes's wisdom or integrity. It is this danger which justifies a reëxamination of the much-discussed Harpalos case. A new statement of the case is becoming current which, I am convinced, rests upon insufficient evidence. Holm presents this view in the most definite form (*Griech. Gesch.*, Vol. III., Ch. XXVI.). He asserts that Demosthenes was a member, perhaps president, of a special commission for the seizure and custody of Harpalos and his treasure; that Demosthenes embezzled 20 talents of the 700 which Harpalos surrendered, and used the money in the anti-Macedonian movement; that his fellow-commissioners appropriated for the same purpose enough more from the money on the Acropolis to bring the sum remaining down to 350 talents; that Demosthenes was responsible for the laxity of guard under which this was possible. He states that at the trial Demosthenes confessed that he had taken 20 talents of the treasure, but that he claimed it was to reimburse himself for an advance loan which he had made to the Theorikon, of which he was president. He states that in the investigation by the Areopagus the account-book of Har-



palos's treasurer was at hand, giving precise information as to money paid to some of the politicians before the seizure; that the reason for the absence of Demosthenes's name was that he appropriated the money at the time of the seizure. These views of Holm are finding expression in some of the more popular manuals.<sup>1</sup>

I proceed to discuss those features of the Harpalos case which are involved in the determination of the honesty and wisdom of Demosthenes's action.

## I. THE SOURCES.

1. The oration of Hypereides against Demosthenes is our one unquestionable source. The fragments recovered are sufficient to determine the most important facts, and they form the one test by which all other sources must be judged.

2. In using Deinarchos the question of genuineness must still be considered an open one, but the early date of the speeches cannot be denied. A comparison of these speeches with those of Hypereides shows that Deinarchos nowhere contradicts Hypereides, that he repeatedly enlarges and supplements Hypereides's statements, but that he adds no single new fact that is of great importance. These orations are free from the late gossip that appears in Plutarch. If it is not Deinarchos who is writing, it is a rhetorician who uses only good sources and who follows Hypereides very closely. He is a thoroughly reliable source.

The following summary shows the relation of Deinarchos to Hypereides:—(a) Statements of Deinarchos that are found in Hypereides: (1) That Demosthenes himself moved the reference of his case to the Areopagus, Hyp. I. 14–II. 26<sup>2</sup>: Dein. I. 4, 86. (2) That others moved similar reference of charges against themselves, Hyp. XXXIV. 3–7: Dein. I. 4, III. 2, 21. (3) Demosthenes's shifting from war-talk to the agreement to grant divine honors, Hyp. XXXI. 10–XXXII. 5:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 829–830. The reader would receive the impression that the Harpalos case admits of no discussion.

<sup>2</sup> References are to Blass's third edition of *Hypereides against Demosthenes*, Leipzig, 1894.



Dein. I. 94. (4) Demosthenes's *προκλήσεις* in protest against the verdict of the Areopagus, Hyp. II. 27–III. 10: Dein. I. 6. (5) The charge and verdict of the Areopagus was *δωροδοκία*, Hyp. IX. 16–18, XII. 11–18, XIII. 22–24, XXI. 19–23, XXIV. 1–26, XXV. 23–28: Dein. I. 3, 4, 15, 29, 40, 45, 46, 47, 60, 66, 67, 88, 93, 98, 103, 112, 113, II. 15. (6) The amount charged in Demosthenes's case was 20 talents, Hyp. II. 12–17, X. 19–20: Dein. I. 6, 53, 89. (7) Demosthenes's case is the first to be tried in the popular court, Hyp. VII. 1–23: Dein. I. 105–106.

(b) Statements of Deinarchos which enlarge or supplement those of Hypereides: (1) That the treasure was to be deposited on the Acropolis; Deinarchos adds the specific statement that it was to be held for Alexander, Hyp. IX. 1–10: Dein. I. 68, 70, 89. (2) That Demosthenes himself moved the investigation of his case; Deinarchos adds to this the statement that a previous decree for the general investigation of the Harpalos affair and punishment of the guilty by the Areopagus had been carried by Demosthenes, Hyp. II. 12–26: Dein. I. 82–83. (3) That Demosthenes's decree for the investigation of his own case was accompanied by protestations of his willingness to accept death as the penalty if found guilty, Hyp. II. 12–26: Dein. I. 1, 8, 40, 61, 104, 108. (4) That the delay in finding a verdict mentioned by Hypereides amounted to six months, Hyp. V. 17–22, XXXI. 10–XXXII. 5: Dein. I. 45. (5) That the attempt of Demosthenes to divert the action of the people by alarmist talk included talk of a gathering of exiles at Megara and of plots to destroy the dockyards, Hyp. XXXI.: Dein. I. 94–95. (6) Deinarchos adds details as to the finding of the Areopagus, Hyp. VI. 13–25: Dein. I. 89. (7) To Hypereides's statement that prosecutors were chosen Deinarchos adds that they were ten in number, and that Stratokles was the first speaker, Hyp. XXXVIII. 1–11: Dein. II. 6, I. 1.

(c) Facts mentioned by Deinarchos that are not found in Hypereides. (1) That Demosthenes was *ἀρχεθεωρός* from Athens at the Olympic festival when Nikanor made his announcement, I. 81–82, 103. (2) That Harpalos's slaves had



been taken to Alexander, I. 68. (3) That under the first decree two men had been executed, I. 62. (4) That Demades did not await trial, I. 104. (5) That the case was tried before a jury of 1500, I. 107.

3. Plutarch's narrative of the Harpalos case embodies Plutarch's worst faults, the neglect of the best sources (he apparently used neither Hypereides nor Deinarchos), the ignoring of the essential facts, and the retailing of mere gossip.<sup>1</sup> He adds no important fact to our knowledge of the case.

4. The best secondary source is the Life of Demosthenes in the *Lives of the Ten Orators*. The author is not without mistakes as tested by the primary sources, but he had one excellent source, which contained an account of the debate in the assembly as to the surrender of Harpalos, perhaps founded on Hypereides. He did not himself use Hypereides or Deinarchos.<sup>2</sup>

5. Diodoros (XVII. 108) gives a probably reliable account of Harpalos's movements; his narrative is free from gossip. His few statements as to events in Athens agree with our primary sources.

6. Important and reliable additions are found in incidental statements in Athenaios and Pausanias.<sup>3</sup>

## II. CHRONOLOGY.

1. The chronology of the Harpalos case turns upon the date of Harpalos's admission to the city by the general, Philokles. F. von Duhn, who has made the most elaborate study of the chronology (*Neue Jahrb.* XXI.,<sup>1</sup> pp. 33 ff.), places this admission in July or early in August of 324 B.C., very soon after the Olympic festival. His chief argument

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch's quotation of a single anecdote from Theopompos in this connection gives no sufficient ground for the assumption that he used a narrative of the case by Theopompos.

<sup>2</sup> The version of the narrative in Photios, *Bib.* 494 a, has no important variation.

<sup>3</sup> Cartault, *De Causa Harpalica*, Paris, 1881, gives a full bibliography up to 1881. The only important contribution since that date is Holm's discussion (*Griech. Gesch.* III. Ch. XXVI.).



for this date rests upon the statements in Hypereides XVIII.–XIX. that Harpalos, on his arrival in Greece, found the states ripe for revolt, roused by the arrival of Nikanor with Alexander's demands for the restoration of the exiles, and the demands as to the assemblies of the Achaeans, Arcadians, and Boeotians. Diodoros says (XVIII. 8) that Nikanor came with a letter from Alexander addressed to the exiles, which was read at the Olympic festival, and he gives the impression (XVII. 109) that Nikanor read at the festival not only this letter but also the proclamation to the states, demanding their admission: 'Ο δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ὄντων, ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς φυγάδας πάντας εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κατιέναι, πλὴν τῶν ἱεροσύλων καὶ φονέων. This impression is confirmed by Deinarchos, who implies that before the festival there was only a rumor of the coming demands, not official notification: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφασαν κατὰγειν καὶ Νικάνωρ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἦκεν, ἀρχεθεωρὸν αὐτὸν ἐπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ (I. 82). If now the first formal demand was announced to the delegates at Olympia, as these passages imply, the wide-spread indignation and readiness for revolt of which Hypereides speaks cannot be placed before the festival. Harpalos's coming must, therefore, on the testimony of Hyp. XVIII.–XIX., be placed after the Olympic festival of 324. Following the traditional dating of the festival, von Duhn sets the arrival late in July or early in August; but, under the dating of the festival established since von Duhn's discussion was published, the Olympic festival of 324 must be placed in September.<sup>1</sup> With this change of reckoning we must, under von Duhn's argument, place the entrance of Harpalos into the city in the very last of September or in October.

An objection to von Duhn's argument is raised from Dein. III. 15; here Philokles is spoken of as having been deposed from the oversight of the Ephebi. It is argued that Philokles was, for the year in which the trial took place, the *κοσμητής*, or one of the *σωφρονισταί*, of the Ephebi; if this was the

<sup>1</sup> Unger, *Müller's Hdbch.* I. 772 ff.; Nissen, *Rhein. Mus.* XL. 349 ff.



case, his generalship must have been in the year preceding, and his admission of Harpalos must have been not later than the early part of June, before the close of the civil year.<sup>1</sup> This objection is not answered by von Duhn's assertion that the *ἐπιμέλεια* here referred to was an office held at some time before the generalship; the context shows that Deinarchos is speaking of a deposition caused by the Harpalos scandal. He admits that Philokles, though long corrupt, had up to the time of the Harpalos affair concealed his wickedness (III. 6-7); III. 15 is very explicit: *ἀλλ' ἔγωγε νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρα αἰσχύνομαι, εἰ προτραπέντας ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ παροξυνθέντας ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ νῦν εὐσεληλυθότος τὴν κρίσιν τιμωρίαν ἐλθεῖν. οὐκ αὐτόπται ἐστὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου γεγενημένων ὕδικημάτων; καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἅπας οὔτ' ὠσφαλὲς οὔτε δίκαιον νομίζων εἶναι παρακαταθέσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας, ἀπεχειροτόνησεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπιμελείας· ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν νόμων φύλακες . . . φείσεσθε κ.τ.λ.* The deposition here referred to was certainly in consequence of the Harpalos scandal; but it does not necessarily follow that his generalship had expired before his deposition from the *ἐπιμέλεια*; it is possible that it was the generalship itself from which he was deposed, pending trial, and that Deinarchos mentions the aspect of the temporary deposition which may well have been most emphasized at the time, that in deposing him from his command of Mounychia and the docks (Dein. III. 1), they were removing him from that oversight over the Ephebi which necessarily went with the office; for, from the very nature of the duties of the Ephebi (Arist. 'Αθ. Πολιτ. XLII.), it follows that they, with their *κοσμητῆς* and *σωφρονισταί*, were under the oversight (*ἐπιμέλεια*) of that general.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, III.,<sup>2</sup> p. 308, Hoffmann's note.

<sup>2</sup> Lipsius evidently so interprets the passage in Deinarchos under discussion; after speaking of the supervision of the Ephebi by the *σωφρονισταί* and the *κοσμητῆς*, he says: "Für das Jahr des Garnisondienstes im Peiraieus unterstanden die Epheben überdem den zwei dort befehligenden Strategen," and as authority for the statement he refers to this passage in Deinarchos (Lipsius-Schömann, *Griech. Alterth.* 553).



This view is greatly strengthened by the tenor of Deinarchos's warnings to the jury. He warns them in detail of the dangers that are involved in the acquittal of Philokles; the dangers which he mentions are precisely those which would follow if Philokles should be reinstated in his office as commandant at Mounychia (III. 9-10); his argument is very forcible if we assume that Philokles is temporarily deposed, pending trial; it is far-fetched if we assume that the contingency against which the prosecutor warns the jury is that of a future election to the same office.<sup>1</sup>

2. The second date to be determined is that of Harpalos's first and unsuccessful attempt to enter the city. The same passage of Hypereides on which I have based the argument for placing his entrance into Athens after the Olympic festival (Hyp. XVIII.) appears to assume that his first attempt was also after the festival; Hypereides says, [ἐπειδὴ δὲ νῦν "Αρπαλος οὕτως ἐξαίφνης] πρὸς τ[ῇ]ν Ἑλλάδα προσέπ[ε]σεν, ὥστε μηδένα προαισθέσθαι· τὰ δ' ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι οὕτως ἔχοντα κατέλαβεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφίξεως τῆς Νικάνορος κ.τ.λ. The natural interpretation of these words must make them refer to the first arrival; it is a coming 'to Greece,' not to Athens, a sudden 'dropping down,' not a return after a previous rejection, a coming which no one foresaw. Unless there is positive evidence to the contrary, we must understand that Nikanor had already published the king's proclamation at Olympia before Harpalos first appeared off Sunion.

But almost all modern writers have set this first arrival back into winter or early spring. It is claimed that we have evidence that Harpalos had already fled from Asia at the

<sup>1</sup> There is no ground for the translation of L. and S. *s.v.* ἀποχειροτονέω "to reject him as unfit for the charge" as applied to this passage; this would imply that he failed of election in the spring of 324. The word as here used belongs under L. and S. II. 2. Cf. Lipsius-Schömann, *Gr. Alt.* 420. [Demos.] XLIX. 9-10 offers an exact parallel to the use of the word in Dein. III. 15; the steps in Timotheos's case were, (1) temporary deposition from the generalship (ἀποχειροτονήθη), (2) trial before the people (ἐπὶ κρίσει δὲ παρεδόδοτο εἰς τὸν δῆμον), (3) making the temporary deposition permanent (στρατηγούμενα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπαύσατε). Cf. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.* VIII. 175 n.



time of the March Dionysia celebrated by Alexander at Susa. This evidence is in the statements by Athenaios, XIII. 595-596, as to the satyric drama Ἀγῆν, which was brought out at Alexander's court. Athenaios speaks of the time and place of the play as follows: συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ τὸν Ἀγῆνα τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον γεγραφώς, ὅπερ ἐδίδαξε Διονυσίων ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἴτε Πύθων ἦν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ ὁ Βυζάντιος, ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς. ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὸ δράμα ἤδη φυγόντος τοῦ Ἀρπάλου ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀποστάντος. In verses from the Ἀγῆν, cited by Athenaios, there is mention of the tomb which Harpalos had caused to be built near Athens for his mistress Pythionike, and the significant words are added, ὃν δὴ Παλλίδης | τεύξας κατέγνω διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτοῦ φυγῆν. It is further stated that Harpalos had sent a large donation of food to Athens and that he had been made an Athenian citizen; then follow the important verses, Γλυκέρας ὁ σῖτος οὗτος ἦν ἔστιν δ' ἴσως | αὐτοῖσιν ὀλέθρου, κοῦχ ἐταίρας, ἄρραβών. From the internal evidence of these verses it appears that when they were written Harpalos had already fled, and it was supposed that his connection with Athens would prove to be a catastrophe for that city. The introductory words of Athenaios add to this the statement that the play was brought out on the Hydaspes River. But Alexander left the Hydaspes in the autumn of 326; we have seen that the year of Harpalos's coming to Greece is fixed beyond question by the Olympic festival of 324. Droysen (*Gesch. Alex.* II. 244, n. 1) and Grote (XII. 240, n. 3) assume that the reading ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου is a corruption for ἐπὶ τοῦ Χοάσπου; nearly all later writers follow this conjecture. On this theory the Ἀγῆν was presented at Susa 'on the Choaspes' during Alexander's stay there, March-April, 324. Harpalos had then already fled, and it was assumed that he had sought refuge at Athens, but not yet known that he had been rejected. On this, von Duhn builds up his theory that Harpalos fled in December, 325, reached Attica in January, 324, withdrew to Tainaron, and remained there till after the Olympic festival.

The reading Χοάσπου for Ὑδάσπου, on which this chro-



nology rests, is open to two objections, either one of which is fatal. First, it assumes that Athenaios or his source in speaking of Susa used, instead of the name of so famous a city, the vague expression 'on the Choaspes River,' an expression suited to an event taking place in a camp on the unknown banks of the Hydaspes, but in no way suited to an event at the court at Susa. The reading Hydaspes cannot be displaced, and can be explained only as a sheer error in tradition as received by Athenaios.<sup>1</sup>

The second objection to placing the Ἀγῆν at Susa, with the inference that Harpalos arrived in Greece in the early spring, lies in the fact that this necessitates the assumption that Harpalos remained at Tainaron unmolested some six months. The presence in Greece of a man who could offer such a nucleus for revolt, both money and men, at the very time when the mercenaries, dismissed from the satrapies, were thronging into the country (we read in Diodor. XVIII. 8, of a gathering of more than 20,000 of them at Olympia in September), when the Greek states were being aroused by Alexander's demands for divine honors, when rumors were already coming of a proposed demand for the restoration of the exiles, would have been a peril that neither Alexander nor Antipater could have ignored. We read in Hypereides (XIX.) that satraps in Asia were in the summer of 324 supposed to be ready to join a movement against Alexander, and it is credible in the light of his treatment of them in the spring. Now to assume that Harpalos was allowed to remain unmolested with treasure and army at Tainaron during these critical months, is to attribute to Antipater inconceivable neglect of his own interests as well as of those of Alexander; everything must have seemed to depend upon seizing Harpalos before he could organize a revolt. The conclusion is inevit-

<sup>1</sup> Niese (*Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. Staaten*, I. 156) holds to the reading Ἰδασπῶν and believes that at this early date (326 B.C.) Harpalos had fled from Babylon to Cilicia; this view would take the Ἀγῆν out of the discussion as to the time of Harpalos's arrival in Greece; but it is incredible that Harpalos would be allowed to remain two years in Cilicia undisturbed, his departure being understood as a 'flight,' as the author of the Ἀγῆν represents it.



able that the conjecture which places the 'Αγὴν at Susa, which alone creates our difficulty, must be rejected.

Where, then, shall we locate the 'Αγὴν, if we reject Niese's defence of the Hydaspes, and Droysen's emendation, the Choaspes? Thirlwall's conjectural dating (*History of Greece*, VII. 101, n. 2), though made before the discovery of the Hypereides manuscript, harmonizes fully with Hypereides's testimony. Thirlwall believes that the 'Αγὴν was brought out at the famous autumn Dionysiac festival at Ecbatana, where Alexander arrived about the end of October, 324 (Droysen, II. 311-313). If Harpalos fled from Tarsos late in the summer, arriving at Tainaron early in October, his flight and his destination may well have been known at Alexander's court at Ecbatana in November; his rejection and arrest by the Athenians would not yet be known, and the poet might well assume that Harpalos was finding a friendly reception at Athens and that his earlier donations of grain would prove an 'earnest of destruction' for Athens.

This dating for the 'Αγὴν is further strengthened by the proclamation made at the same festival by a flatterer of the king (Athen. XII. 538). The play in which Harpalos's friendship is spoken of as an 'earnest of destruction' for Athens is precisely fitted to a festival in which there is talk of a siege of the city.<sup>1</sup>

One other passage in Athenaios has been used in discussions of this chronology; in VIII. 341-342 he refers to a comedy by Timokles in the following words: καὶ 'Τπερείδης δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ ὀψοφάγος ἦν, ὥς φησι Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Δήλῳ διηγούμενος τοὺς παρὰ 'Αρπάλου δωροδοκήσαντας. γράφει δ' οὕτως.

<sup>1</sup> Von Duhn seeks to strengthen his hypothesis that Harpalos's first attempt to enter Athens was made in the spring, and his second attempt, after the Olympic festival, by the claim that it was the change of sentiment in Athens, worked by Nikanor's coming, which gave Harpalos hope of a reversal of the decision for his exclusion; but no such assumption is needed; he came at first with fleet and army; to receive him was manifestly dangerous; he came the second time alone; he had no reason to fear a refusal to allow him at least to plead his cause. That the sentiment of the people had not turned to any such degree as von Duhn assumes is clear from their final action against Harpalos.



Δημοσθένης τάλαντα πενήκοντ' ἔχει.

B. μακάριος, εἴπερ μεταδίδωσι μηδενί.

A. καὶ Μουροκλῆς εἴληφε χρυσίον παλὺ.

B. ἀνότητος ὁ διδοῖς, εὐτυχῆς δ' ὁ λαμβάνων.

A. εἴληφε καὶ Δήμων τε καὶ Καλλισθένης.

B. πένητες ἦσαν, ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχω.

A. ὁ τ' ἐν λόγοις δεινὸς Ὑπερείδης ἔχει.

B. τοῖς ἰχθυοπώλας οὗτος ἡμῶν πλουτιεῖ  
ὀψοφάγος, ὥστε τοῖς λάρους εἶναι Σύρους.

Girard (*Études sur l'éloquence Attique*, p. 265), followed by Cartault (p. 53), places this comedy at the Dionysia of the spring of 324. This forces him to the conclusion that before March Harpalos had made both his first and second attempts, and that the Harpalos scandal was already upon the city six months before Nikanor's proclamation at Olympia. Under this assumption Nikanor must have been sent to Greece long before Alexander's arrival at Susa, a chronology which is opposed to all that we know of Nikanor's mission.

The *Delos* of Timokles must be carried on to the Lenaea or the Great Dionysia of 323. At this time it seemed likely that the Areopagus would let the whole matter drop; every one was under suspicion, no one likely to pay any penalty; Hypereides had not yet been cleared from suspicion by the verdict of the Areopagus, and Demosthenes seemed likely to enjoy his ill-gotten gains.<sup>1</sup>

I propose, then, the following chronology for the Harpalos affair:

*September*, 324 B.C.: Nikanor's proclamation at the Olympic festival. Demosthenes's unsuccessful negotiations with him there.

*October*: Harpalos appears off Sunion, is refused admission to Athens, and proceeds to Tainaron. He leaves his fleet and troops there and very soon appears at Athens; he is arrested and escapes from custody.

<sup>1</sup> No chronology of the case can be accepted which does not find for the *Delos* a date when there would be some real point in speaking of Hypereides as guilty, and Demosthenes as to be congratulated on his success. Von Duhn's chronology has no possible place for the *Delos*.



*November:* The Areopagus is intrusted with the investigation of the Harpalos affair and the punishment of the guilty. Philokles is suspended from office.

The Ἀγὴν is brought out at Alexander's autumn Dionysiac festival at Ecbatana.

*January-April, 323:* The *Delos* of Timokles is brought out at the Lenaea or the Great Dionysia at Athens.

*April-May, 323:* Report of the Areopagus. Debate in the Ecclesia upon this report. Vote to refer the report to the courts for sentence. Appointment of prosecuting attorneys for the cases involved. Conviction of Demosthenes by the popular court.<sup>1</sup> His imprisonment and escape.

*June, 323:* The death of Alexander.

An objection to this chronology may be raised on the ground that it assumes that Harpalos ventured to remain in Asia nearly six months after Alexander reached Susa on his return from India. It is certainly true that Harpalos must have realized the necessity of flight as soon as he learned of the return of Alexander from India; but he would be in immediate danger only on the approach of the king to Ecbatana and Babylon; it was sufficient for him in the early spring to withdraw to Cilicia, of which he was ἐπιστάτης;<sup>2</sup> this would arouse no suspicion whatever, and he could take ship there at any time. The manner and direction of his flight could be determined only after the development of events in the summer. By the time when Alexander left Opis late in the summer, Harpalos was able to form a clear and promising plan for flight. By this time the new causes of discontent both in Asia and Greece were fully at work: the fear and anger of the satraps, the flooding of the country with dismissed mercenaries, the resentment of Alexander's veterans over his new organization of the army, the growing

<sup>1</sup> The Athenian embassy which met Alexander at Babylon in the early spring had left Athens before the trial (Hyp. XIX., XXXI.), but how long before we do not know; probably not as early as von Duhn assumes; there is no ground for his statement, "Und sogleich nach Abfertigung der Gesandtschaften fielen die Eröffnungen des Areopagos" (p. 57 n.).

<sup>2</sup> Theopompos in Athen. XIII. 595. His frequent residence there is seen in the fact that he had placed Glykera in the palace at Tarsos.



alienation between Alexander and Antipater, the rumors of new and unendurable demands upon the Greek states. At this time, and not before, Harpalos's seizure of the treasure and his flight to Athens were reasonable actions.

The flight of Harpalos to Athens was more than the mere desperate attempt of an embezzler to escape punishment; such an attempt within the limits of Greece would have been hopeless. It was the deliberate attempt of a man who controlled men and money, and who had strong connections with the disaffected satraps in Asia, to organize a general revolt. It was not until after midsummer that events were ripe for this undertaking.

A second objection to the above chronology may lie in the fact that Demosthenes's conviction falls so late that it leaves only a very short time for his imprisonment and exile before the outbreak of the Lamian war. But we have no reliable knowledge as to the length of either his imprisonment or his exile.<sup>1</sup>

The chronology here proposed, by placing the report of the Areopagus within two months of the death of Alexander, accounts for the fact that the treasure which remained on the Acropolis was never returned to Alexander.<sup>2</sup> Under the current chronology, which places the finding of the courts six months before the death of the king, it is impossible to explain why his representatives did not demand and secure the return of the money. It was reasonable for Alexander to wait until the investigations of the courts were completed; after that there was no occasion for delay in pressing his demands; he could, at least, secure the return of the 350 talents that were in the Acropolis.

### III. THE RELATION OF DEMOSTHENES TO THE HARPALOS AFFAIR.

#### 1. *Harpalos's disposal of his treasure.*

Upon Harpalos's arrival in the city one of his first concerns must have been to put his immense treasure in safe

<sup>1</sup> The statement of the anonymous 'Life' is that he was in prison five days.

<sup>2</sup> At the outbreak of the Lamian war the money was still at Athens (Diodor. XVIII. 9).



keeping. However sanguine of success he may have been, the outcome of his appeal was doubtful, and it was of first importance to keep the treasure within his own control under any possible contingency. He accordingly deposited a part of it with private persons on whom he could rely. From first to last, before and after his arrest, this part of his treasure was fully at his disposal; it was not seized, and he probably took a part of it with him on his flight from the city.<sup>1</sup> Our testimony to the existence of such a deposit is explicit.<sup>2</sup>

This deposit of treasure with private persons for safe keeping has been almost universally overlooked. The failure to notice this precaution led to Grote's mistaken assertion (XII. 304), "Moreover, Harpalus had no means of requiting the persons, whoever they were, to whom he owed his escape; for the same motion which decreed his arrest, decreed also the sequestration of his money, and thus removed it from his own control."

## 2. *The debate in the Ecclesia. The policy of Demosthenes.*

The plea of Harpalos for his own protection and the coöperation of Athens in his plans came before the Ecclesia for action. Deputies had arrived from the admiral Philoxenos (Hyp. VIII.), who demanded the surrender of the fugitive and the treasure. An immediate decision must be made.

The explicit statement of Hypereides excludes the idea that Philoxenos himself was present (Plutarch, *Περὶ δυσωπ.* 5. 531), or that demands had been received from Antipater and Olympias (Diodor. XVII. 108); these demands would certainly have been mentioned by Hypereides. It is possible that such demands were received at a later time, and that

<sup>1</sup> The utmost efforts of the Areopagus accounted for only 64 t. of the 350 t. that were missing (Dein. I. 89).

<sup>2</sup> Hyp. XXIV. 1-14, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁμοίως [δαινόν]ν, εἰ τις ἔλα[βεν], ἀλλ' εἰ ὄθεν μὴ [δεῖ, οὐδ' [ἐ] γ' ὁμοίως [ἐχ]ου[σ]ιν οἱ ιδιώται [οἱ λαβόντες τὸ χρυσίον [καὶ] οἱ ῥήτορες καὶ οἱ [στρατ]ηγοί. διὰ τί; ὅτι τοῖς [μέν] ιδιώταις Ἀρπα[λος] ἐ]δωκεν φυλάτ[τειν τ]ὸ χρυσίον, οἱ δὲ [στρατ]ηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ῥήτο[ρες] πρ[ό]ξενον ἔνεκα [εἰλή]φασιν.



Philoxenos afterward came in person (Droysen, II. 281), but it is more likely that these accounts in the secondary sources all rest upon conjecture; writers who knew that the surrender was demanded by Philoxenos would infer that he came in person; those who had no knowledge of the facts would assume that the demands came from the administration in Macedonia. It is to be noted that at no time did Demosthenes take any such attitude toward the demand for surrender as that described in Plutarch's anecdote.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the debate in the assembly Demosthenes delivered a long speech (Hyp. VIII. 17-IX. 12), in which he argued that it was not best to surrender Harpalos to the deputies from Philoxenos, yet that the city must not give Alexander ground for accusation: that the safest course for the city was to keep both money and man under guard, and the next day to carry up to the Acropolis all the money that he had brought into Attica. He proposed that Harpalos tell on the spot how much this money was.

To the ardent pro-Macedonian the wisdom of surrendering Harpalos and the treasure was unquestionable; to the radical patriot the wisdom of the acceptance of his offers to organize a revolt was equally clear. With so many causes coöperating to the success of such a movement, men like Hypereides thought it no time to discuss the ethics of a proposition to seize the treasure of a public enemy as a means of attacking him in open war. Between these two parties stood Demosthenes; he had learned by experience the futility of a partial combination and a premature uprising. Yet to consent to the surrender of Harpalos was to break so utterly with his old associates, so completely to shatter his influence with his old party, to subject himself to such charges of abandonment of principle, that he sought to evade the choice. His solution was a shrewd and simple one; to evade immediate action, to do all that could be demanded for the immediate protection

<sup>1</sup> Those who place a long interval between the first coming of Harpalos to Greece and his admission to the city, cannot accept the implication of Hypereides that only messengers from the admiral were as yet present; but under the chronology proposed above, this is entirely reasonable.



of Alexander's interests, yet to leave the people with the feeling that the whole matter was still in their hands. His underlying purpose was to show to Harpalos that he could not succeed in his plans, and leave to him opportunity for quiet withdrawal from the city. The proposition offered a plausible compromise, and neither party could afford to risk defeat by opposing it; each hoped by subsequent action to secure its own purposes.

After Demosthenes had taken his seat he told Mnesitheos to ask Harpalos how much money it was that was to be taken to the Acropolis; Harpalos replied that it was 700 talents, and Demosthenes repeated this statement to the people (Hyp. IX. 18-X. 15).<sup>1</sup>

### 3. *The seizure and custody of the treasure.*

The next event was the discovery by the people, we do not know how long after the arrest, that Harpalos had fled, and that only 350 talents had been carried up to the Acropolis instead of the 700 talents that Demosthenes had announced were to be seized.

Modern writers have introduced endless confusion into the discussion at this point by failing to see that Hypereides states explicitly that only half of the treasure was ever taken to the Acropolis; he says (X. 1-22), [τὰ χρήματα εἶναι τηλικαῦτα] αὐ[τ]ὸς ἐν τῷ δ[ήμῳ] πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπὼν, ἀναφερομένων τριακοσίων ταλάντων καὶ πεντήκοντα ἀνθ' ἐπ[τ]ακοσίων, λαβὼν τὰ εἴκοσι τάλαντα οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιήσατο . . . (*lacuna of two lines*) . . . ἐν τῷ δēμῳ ἐπτακόσια φήσας εἶναι τάλαντα, νῦν τὰ ἡμίση ἀναφέρεις, καὶ οὐδ' ἐλογίσω ὅτι τοῦ [πάντα ἀνε]ν[ε]χθῆναι [ὀρθῶς] εἰς ἀκρόπολιν . . .

These words of Hypereides absolutely exclude the assumptions of those modern writers who state that the missing money disappeared after it was deposited on the Acropolis. The statement of Hypereides necessitates the conclusion that the deficit was caused either by the failure to seize the whole sum

<sup>1</sup> That Mnesitheos asked the question privately is clear from the fact that it was from Demosthenes that the people learned his answer (Hyp. X. 12-15, [τὰ χρήματα εἶναι τηλικαῦτα] αὐ[τ]ὸς ἐν τῷ δ[ήμῳ] πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπὼν).



that Harpalos had brought, or by pilfering from it while in transit to the Acropolis. There is nothing in Hypereides or Deinarchos inconsistent with this statement; both speeches are full of charges of the bribery of citizens by Harpalos, neither has a suggestion of any suspicion that money was stolen. The secondary sources all agree with the speeches in this particular. This fact is also strongly against the supposition that any of the money was pilfered in transit; the fact that the prosecutors, who knew the circumstances, never mention theft, confines us to the supposition that the deficit was due to the failure to seize more than half of the money.

Schaefer follows the evidence and concludes that only half of the treasure was found and seized (III. 310). Droysen, on the incredible supposition that Harpalos was left in control of his treasure the first night, assumes that he himself disposed of the money then (II. 279).<sup>1</sup> Holm in his whole discussion ignores this testimony of Hypereides and assumes that the money was embezzled by Athenians. He says (III. 416-17), "Und das in Athen aufbewahrte Geld hatte sich inzwischen wunderbar vermindert . . . es kam schliesslich heraus, dass nur noch 350 Talente wirklich da waren. Wann und wie war das Uebrige, etwa 1½ Millionen Mark, verschwunden? . . . Von dem, was auf der Burg mit dem Gelde geschehen war, und weshalb es sich von 700 Talenten auf 350 vermindert hatte, konnte das Rechnungsbuch des Sklaven natürlich keine Auskunft geben." Hypereides says that 350 talents was the amount taken to the Acropolis; Holm says it was 700 talents. In his notes (III. 420) Holm says further, "Deshalb ist es von keiner Bedeutung, dass der Schreiber des Harpalos den Namen des Dem. nicht auf der Liste der Empfänger hatte; Dem. nahm die 20 Talente, als das Geld an die athenischen Kommissare abgeliefert war." That Holm means by this that Demosthenes embezzled the money, not

<sup>1</sup> That it was for the deposit of the money, not the arrest, that a day was allowed, is plainly stated in Hyp. IX. 1-10. It was wise to give the officers a day for finding the treasure, the location of which was not known. It may well have been assumed that it was at the Peiraeus.



that he took it as a bribe from Harpalos, is clear from his argument as to the absence of his name from the slave's list. Holm's whole view of the nature of the crime is directly opposed to the testimony of Hypereides.

L. Schmidt's theory of the case (*Rhein. Mus.* XV. 225) rests upon a similar error; he assumes that Demosthenes took 20 talents of the money after the flight of Harpalos, that is after it was deposited on the Acropolis. Sauppe says (*Philol.* III. 654): "Und immer ist es möglich, dass er von den ihm anvertrauten Geldern des Harpalos Summen für öffentliche Zwecke verwendet hatte."

I have shown that Hypereides believes that Harpalos had a part of his money on deposit with personal friends on whom he could rely; this explains the whole proceeding. When the officers who arrested Harpalos demanded of him the surrender of his treasure, he produced about half of what he had said that he had brought from Tainaron.<sup>1</sup> The other half, on deposit with his friends, the officers did not, and could not, find; it remained entirely within Harpalos's control after his arrest, and was drawn upon to keep shut the mouths of politicians who discovered that he had surrendered only a part of his treasure, and to secure his escape from custody. The money actually seized was safely taken to the Acropolis and safely kept there.

The officer immediately in charge of the seizure and the treasury officials must have known from the first that only a part of the treasure had been seized. Both may have been bribed, but such a supposition is very improbable; both were in a responsible position; the facts must inevitably come to light; they would be the first to be accused. It is far more probable that they made all haste to communicate the facts to the political leaders to whom they must look for protection, and first of all to Demosthenes, the author of the decree under which the seizure had been made. But why did the

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that we have no reliable evidence as to the amount of Harpalos's treasure; the sum of 700 talents rests upon his statement in the Assembly, at a time when he had strong motive for exaggeration. The lawyers of the prosecution were more than willing to accept this doubtful statement as true.



political leaders remain silent ? So far as they were open to persuasion by gold, the money of Harpalos furnished sufficient motive ; so far as they were men of integrity, they found themselves in a position where the publication of the deficit could only occasion suspicion and alarm. They had no reliable knowledge as to the original sum ; it was in the power of Harpalos and his friends to throw any one of them under instant suspicion. Demosthenes was least of all in a position to go before the people with complaint or information ; his measure had failed, he had carelessly become sponsor for the assertion that the original treasure was 700 talents and made the people responsible to Alexander for that enormous sum, and many of his old friends were thoroughly angry at his refusal to take advantage of what they believed to be an opportunity for a war of liberation ; for him to carry the matter to the Ecclesia now would have been folly. The best that could be done was to keep the deficit secret as long as possible and make every effort in quiet to find the whole treasure.

In this view of Demosthenes's connection with the case at this stage I assume that he had no personal share in the execution of his motion for the arrest of Harpalos and the seizure of his money. I reject as unsupported by contemporary testimony, and highly improbable in itself, the assumption of modern writers that Demosthenes was a member of a special commission appointed to execute the decree for arrest and seizure. Some, like Schaefer, speak of such a commission as an assumption ("wie sich von selbst versteht," III. 311), but more assert it without hint that it rests purely on modern hypothesis. Grote did not fall into this error ; he says (XII. 305) : "There is no proof, and in my judgment no probability, that Demosthenes was at all concerned in it" (the taking of the money to the Acropolis). Droysen, after speaking of Demosthenes's proposition, says (II. 279) : "Das Volk beschloss seinem Antrage gemäss, beauftragte ihn selbst mit der Uebernahme des Geldes, die folgenden Tages geschehen sollte." Holm says (III. 416) : "Harpalos hatte dem Demosthenes als Mitglied, vielleicht Vorsitzendem der Spezial-



kommission für die Aufbewahrung seiner Schätze, gesagt. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Von Duhn paraphrases Hypereides as follows (p. 55): "Zweitens wies Hypereides darauf hin, dass bei der Flucht des Harpalos Demosthenes sich so auffällig zurückhaltend benommen habe: er hätte als Vormann der vom Volke eingesetzten Commission die erste Pflicht gehabt, für eine genügende Wache zu sorgen und dieselbe recht zu controlieren; er hätte nachher die Wächter zur Strafe ziehen, nicht es anderen überlassen müssen." This paraphrase inserts the modern conjecture of a commission into the midst of Hypereides's words, giving the utterly misleading impression that we have his authority for it. This assumption of Demosthenes's membership in a special commission is adopted by Thirlwall (VII. 169), Sauppe (p. 652), L. Schmidt (p. 219), Rohrmoser (*Zeits. f. d. Oest. Gym.* 1876, p. 486), Weil (*Les Harangues d. Dem.*, p. xxx).

Was there, then, a special commission for the seizure and safe-keeping of the man and his treasure? Certainly such an assumption is not necessary from anything in the nature of the duties to be performed; they were perfectly simple duties within the ordinary sphere of police and treasury officials. The officials who would ordinarily supervise such work were held to sharp accountability. What possible motive could lead to the transfer of these public functions to a committee of politicians? Were Athenian politicians so far above suspicion of venality that the first thought of the people on planning the custody of a notorious embezzler and his uncounted treasure would be to appoint a committee of politicians to seize and guard man and money? The existence of such a commission, unsupported as it is by a word of testimony, must depend upon some statement as to Demosthenes himself which necessitates the assumption that he was a member of such a commission. If, now, he had a share in the handling of a vast sum of money which had melted away under his hands, charges of embezzlement must have arisen

<sup>1</sup> This statement was not made to Demosthenes, but to Mnesitheos; it was not in connection with the seizure, but during the session of the Assembly (Hyp. IX. 18-X. 15).



on every side. But we read Hypereides and Deinarchos, where every attempt is made to arouse suspicion against Demosthenes, and from first to last find no charge whatever of theft or embezzlement; throughout Hypereides and Deinarchos we find the consistent charge that Demosthenes received money from Harpalos himself; there is no hint of suspicion that he has profited by the Harpalos treasure in any other way.<sup>1</sup> Is it reasonable to suppose that if it had been known that Demosthenes had had opportunity to handle the Harpalos treasure himself, there would have been no charge of embezzlement in the speech of either of his accusers? They might still press bribery as the main charge, but the other charge would certainly find expression.

As a further means of determining whether Demosthenes was a member of a special commission we must ask what services he was accused of having rendered Harpalos in return for the bribe of 20 talents, and whether there was anything in the nature of these services that implies membership in the supposed commission. Deinarchos offers no answer, but Fragments X.-XII. of Hypereides, while so mutilated at critical points as to make a complete answer difficult, yet furnish means of determining the claim of the prosecution; this is that Harpalos paid Demosthenes 20 talents, and in return received two services: first, he was allowed to retain control of about half of his treasure, and, second, he was allowed to escape. Now does Hypereides claim that Demosthenes rendered this service as one of the men charged with the seizure and custody? Fortunately the text bearing on the second charge is complete (XII. 1-19); we find here these words: *σὺ δ' ὁ τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ τὴν φυλακὴν καταστήσας καὶ οὐτ' ἐγλειπομένην ἐπανορθῶν οὔτε καταλυθείσης τοὺς αἰτίους κρίνας, προῖκα δὴλον*

<sup>1</sup> For the charge of bribery see the discussion under Deinarchos as a source. In Dein. I. 70, where the orator uses the words *ἀρπάζειν καὶ κλέπτειν*, he is speaking in the most general way of Demosthenes's life as a whole; the same is true of Dein. I. 77. In § 90 *διηρωκότας ἔχειν* refers to the whole scandal, including the general charge against the politicians as a whole. In every passage which refers specifically and solely to Demosthenes's action in the Harpalos case the charge is bribery.



ὅτ[ι] τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τεταμίειναι ; The prosecutor says here, not "You who were one of the commission intrusted with the custody of the man," not "You who were appointed to guard the man," but "You who by your decree caused the custody of the man" ; Demosthenes's responsibility is carried back to the fact that he was responsible for the whole policy of arrest, and this broad ground of responsibility is repeated a few lines beyond (XII. 16-18) in the words *σὲ δὲ τὸν τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων ἐπιστάτην*. And this claim of the prosecution was perfectly reasonable. The people had a right to demand that Demosthenes, who had become sponsor for a certain line of action opposed to the policy of the leaders of both parties, should watch most keenly the officials whose duty it was to execute it, and report most promptly any failure on their part. If he saw that Harpalos was being kept under insufficient restraint, he should have demanded of the officials the prompt strengthening of the guard ;<sup>1</sup> after he had fled, no man would so naturally be expected to prosecute the negligent guards as the author of the decree for his custody.

Now turn to the first charge, so mutilated in our MS. ; we can make out the substance to be that because Demosthenes received 20 talents from Harpalos, he shut his eyes to the fact of the necessity of the seizure of the whole treasure, and in consequence Harpalos was able to retain control of money to secure his escape, and the city fell under accusation and slander.

This interpretation of Hypereides is confirmed by the statement of the author of the "Life" of Demosthenes (*Vit. X. Or. 846*) ; this writer understands Demosthenes's fault not to have lain in his failure to execute his decree, but in his neglect to make known the failure of those who were intrusted with its execution : *αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης δωροδοκίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀνακομισθέντων μεμνηνκώς, μήτε τὴν τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμέλειαν*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is in no way likely that Harpalos was thrown into prison. Had this been so, under no theory could Demosthenes have been accused of failure to strengthen his guard. If Harpalos was simply under surveillance, the laxity of this might easily become notorious.

<sup>2</sup> Holm (III. 421-422) interprets the words *τὴν τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμέλειαν* as



Against this view that the responsibility of Demosthenes lay in his responsibility for the whole policy, and his duty of insistence upon the faithful performance of their duties by those intrusted with its execution, the only testimony that can be urged is a single expression in Hyp. X. 25-28, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐ[πτα]κόσια φήσας εἶν[αι] τάλαντα, νῦν τὰ ἡμίση ἀναφέρεις. If these words were our only source, we should certainly say that Demosthenes himself had a part in carrying the treasure to the Acropolis;<sup>1</sup> but in view of the specific statements of the second charge, and the parallel account in the *Vita*, we are justified in giving to the words τὰ ἡμίση ἀναφέρεις the same broad interpretation: Demosthenes, as the author of the decree, is the head of the whole affair: whatever is done under his decree, he does in the broad sense, and he is responsible for all; if the officers seize only half the treasure, and so the city is brought into trouble, the prosecutor may well say, "You bring up only 350 talents when you had declared that 700 were to be seized."

#### 4. *The reference of the affair to the Areopagus.*

The escape of the prisoner and the news that only half of the treasure had ever been on the Acropolis aroused general indignation and suspicion. As the author of the compromise measure, which had resulted in the disappearance of the man and half of the treasure, Demosthenes was liable to most bitter attacks from every side. Prosecutions in the courts were sure to follow. As the only feasible measure under the popular excitement, Demosthenes himself carried a resolution by which the whole matter was referred to the Areopagus, and they were empowered to investigate charges and punish the guilty (Dein. I. 62 and 83).

referring to neglect to guard the money; that they refer to neglect to guard the man is unquestionable from the explicit statement of Hyp. XII. 1-11. Holm's interpretation is a part of his mistaken assumption that money was stolen from the Acropolis.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that a few lines before (X. 12-20), the act is not represented as Demosthenes's own: [τὰ χρήματα εἶναι τῇ]λικ[αὐτῶν] αὐ[τῶν] δὲ ἐν τῷ δ[ῆμῳ] πρὸς ὑμᾶς ε[ἰπὼν], ἀναφερομένων τρια[κοσίων] τάλαντων καὶ πεντ[ήκοντα] ἀν[θρῶπων] ἐπ[ὶ] τ[ῶν] ἀκοσίων, λαβόντων τὰ εἴκοσι τάλαντα . . .



The attempt was made to recover as much as possible of the missing treasure by offering immunity to those who should voluntarily restore any of the money which they had received. This attempt was fruitless.<sup>1</sup>

The Areopagus found two men guilty, and delivered them to the executioner (Dein. I. 62 ; cf. Schaefer, III. 323, n. 2).

### 5. *The so-called 'confession' of Demosthenes.*

Rumors that Demosthenes had received a part of the Harpalos money were persistently circulated. He at first tried to stifle these charges by circulating in private the statement that he had borrowed 20 talents from Harpalos for the people as an advance for the Theorikon (Hyp. XII. 27-XIII. 16).

This 'confession' was a statement, made in the first days of the scandal, by friends of Demosthenes in private conversation (τὸ μὲν πρῶτον . . . ὁμο[λογεῖν] . . . καὶ περιῶν Κνωσίων καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἔλεγον); they warned those with whom they talked that if these charges were continued, Demosthenes would be obliged to state publicly what his friends revealed in private, that the people had themselves received the benefit of 20 talents of the Harpalos treasure in the form of a loan which Demosthenes had negotiated for the Theorikon.

The purpose of this 'confession' is evident: Demosthenes found himself persistently accused; he could not hope for an unprejudiced judicial hearing; there was a possibility that a clever trick might stop the mouths of the people. So Demosthenes and some of his friends quietly circulated the story of the loan for the use of the people themselves; the people were to believe that they had themselves received a part of the treasure, and that if the matter should be made public, the money must be repaid from the Theorikon fund and public shame must be expected. This was long before the trial. How little weight was placed upon this so-called 'confession,' which has so large a place in modern discussions of the case,

<sup>1</sup> Hyp. XXXIV. 1-14. Whether this was a part of the original motion we do not know.



is seen in the fact that Deinarchos nowhere mentions it, and that in no part of the speech of Hypereides, so far as we have it, is it used as an argument for his guilt.

A common mistake of modern writers is to represent this as a confession that Demosthenes had taken 20 talents of the Harpalos treasure to reimburse himself for a loan that he had himself already made to the Theorikon. I find this mistake first in Droysen; he says (II. 282-283): "Er läugnete nicht, dass er zwanzig Talente von dem Gelde des Harpalos genommen habe, aber nur als vorläufigen Ersatz für die gleiche Summe, die er früher der Theorikenkasse vorgeschossen, wovon er nicht gern habe sprechen wollen." Von Duhn repeats this error, putting the words into Demosthenes's own mouth (p. 54). Holm repeats the same error in the statement which he ascribes to Demosthenes (III. 420): "Er habe dem Theorikon 20 Tal. vorgeschossen, und diese nun vom Harpalosgelde zurückgenommen." Compare Holm III. 417.

This mistake of Droysen's, perpetuated by his successors, is a most mischievous one; Hypereides says that Demosthenes admitted having borrowed 20 talents from Harpalos for the people; the modern writers assert that he confessed that he had taken 20 talents for himself. The words of Hypereides, ὁμο[λογεῖν μὲν εἰληφέ]ναι τὰ χρήματ[α, ἀλλὰ] κατακεχρησθαι αὐτὰ ὑμῖν προδεδανεισμένος εἰς τὸ θεωρικόν, contain no suggestion of an advance made by Demosthenes himself.<sup>1</sup>

The same scholars who have misinterpreted the statement as to the loan make the further error of asserting that this 'confession' was made at the trial; but Hypereides says that it was made τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, and by Knosion περιῶν; there is nothing whatever to suggest that any such claim was made at the trial: the very point of the statement of Demosthenes's friends was that the story ought not to be made public (εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐνεγκεῖν); nor can we accept the conclusion that must follow from the assumption that the

<sup>1</sup> W. Wyse, in the *Class. Rev.* VI. 254-257, has published an excellent study of the technical meaning of the words προδανείζειν and προδανείσται. He shows that the word in the passage in Hypereides may mean either to negotiate a loan in advance, or to negotiate a loan 'for' (the people).



'confession' was made at the trial, *i.e.* that Demosthenes spoke before Hypereides.<sup>1</sup>

The admission that Demosthenes had borrowed 20 talents for the Theorikon was, I believe, a trick, the story without foundation in fact. The admission did not in any way preclude the claim that Demosthenes had not used any of the missing treasure whatever for himself; this claim he soon repeated in the most solemn way.

L. Schmidt has introduced a new element of confusion into the discussion of the 'confession' by assuming that Demosthenes had really taken 20 talents from the treasure after its seizure, to use for propagating the movement against Alexander, and that the warnings of his friends referred to in Hyp. XIII. mean that the money has been used for patriotic purposes that must not be divulged (*Rhein. Mus.* XV. 224). I have shown that the assumption that any money was taken from the treasure after its lodgment on the Acropolis is false. But Schmidt's further assumption of a use of the 20 talents for secret state purposes rests on the failure to see that Hyp. XIII. 1-6 refers to precisely the same expenditure as that in 13-16; Demosthenes's friends warn the politicians that if they continue their clamor Demosthenes will be forced to declare in public what he now tells them in private, that 20 talents was borrowed for the Theorikon; the expression *κατακεχρησθαι αὐτὰ ὑμῖν προδεδανεισμένος εἰς τὸ θεωρικόν* is repeated in slightly different form in the words *τῷ δήμῳ προδεδάν[ε]ιστ[αι] τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν*. Schmidt's assumption that the expression *εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν* refers to something other than *εἰς τὸ θεωρικόν* is unwarranted; but upon this assumption rests his whole view of Demosthenes's action.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Holm objects to the story of the Theorikon payment on the ground that it is preposterous to think of so large a sum being used for the purpose. It is a sufficient answer to note that Demosthenes's friends did not consider the statement preposterous; their only reason for making it was to give a plausible tale to some of the people. That the sum was not beyond reason for such use appears from Böckh's proof that for a single division of Theorikon money at precisely this period 15 talents would be required (*Staatsh.* I. 285).

<sup>2</sup> The same misinterpretation of Hypereides underlies the astonishing conjecture of Willenbücher, "Zum Harpalischen Prozess," *N. Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt.* I. 300 ff.



6. *The attempt to transfer the attack on Demosthenes to the popular courts. Demosthenes's counter move through πρόκλησις.*

Demosthenes's attempt to silence the popular leaders by making them believe that the people themselves would be found to have received a part of the missing treasure had the opposite effect. They proclaimed that Demosthenes was trying to implicate the people in his own guilt (Hyp. XIII. 16-27). A resolution was carried in the Ecclesia by which Demosthenes was specifically charged with having received 20 talents of the Harpalos money. He met this with an outright denial and carried a resolution in the form of a πρόκλησις by which he formally challenged the Demos to lay its evidence before the Areopagus for investigation and report to the Ecclesia (Hyp. II. 12-25). He called the people to witness that he was ready to accept death as the penalty if the Areopagus should find him guilty of having received any of the treasure which Harpalos brought into the country (Dein. I. 61-2).

The above facts are established by Hypereides and Deinarchos ; I offer the following conjectural account as best explaining these facts :

The failure of the Areopagus in their investigation, under the original vote of the people by which both investigation and punishment had been intrusted to them, irritated the radical democrats, who demanded the punishment of the men who had thwarted their scheme for a patriotic revolution. They began to suspect that the Areopagus would hush up the whole affair. They therefore took steps to force the issue in the case which they had most at heart, that of Demosthenes. Some individual brought formal εἰσαγγελία before the Ecclesia. It lay now in the hands of the people to decide the case themselves or to send it directly to a law-

Willenbücher adopts the rumor that Alexander was poisoned ; he traces the act back through Iollas, Kassander, and Nikanor straight to Demosthenes. On his departure for Olympia as Ἀρχεθεωρός, Demosthenes stole 20 talents from the treasure on the Acropolis, and with it bribed Nikanor to secure the death of the king by poison.



court for trial; this was the purpose of the leaders, who wished to withdraw the case from the delay of the Areopagus. But in the present state of popular feeling, with so many of his former friends against him, Demosthenes could not safely let the case go to a popular court, much less be decided in the Ecclesia. He instantly stepped in with the motion that the case be referred to the Areopagus for preliminary investigation of the evidence: upon receipt of that report, the case would be again in the hands of the people to decide themselves or to send on to the courts for sentence, if the report should be against him. At the same time he offered a formal challenge (*πρόκλησις*) to the Demos (*i.e.* to their leaders) to produce their alleged evidence before the Areopagus.

This proposal of Demosthenes was not satisfactory to his enemies, but it was apparently so fair that they could not refuse to accept it without reflecting too much on the Areopagus; they gained this important point, that now the Areopagus were forced to take up the charges against Demosthenes and return a definite answer to the Ecclesia, and that the final action would now be with the Ecclesia and the popular court, not with the Areopagus, as before.

This interpretation of the term *πρόκλησις* brings it into harmony with the ordinary use of the term; Hypereides says that this case has been conducted according to a common procedure in private cases (*ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων πολλά διὰ προκλήσεων κρίνεται, οὕτως καὶ τοῦτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κέκριται*, II. 5-10). In private cases a party to a suit challenged the other party through *πρόκλησις* to produce witnesses, documents, or other evidence (Mei. u. Schö. Att. Process II. 889, 871-873, 480, 890-894). Demosthenes, in the same way, challenges the Demos, who had adopted the charge against him, to lay their evidence before the Areopagus.

It is important to distinguish the *πρόκλησις* of Hyp. II. 12-25 from the *προκλήσεις* of II. 28-III. 3; the latter were made after the Areopagus had presented their verdict to the people and were challenges to the Areopagus to present to the people the evidence on which they based their finding



(ἀπόφασις). Deinarchos clearly distinguishes between the two; in I. 4-5 he refers to the first, in 6, to the second.<sup>1</sup>

The action of Demosthenes in boldly challenging his accusers to bring proof before the Areopagus tended to allay popular suspicion; others who were under similar suspicion naturally followed his example, and a series of προκλήσεις followed.<sup>2</sup> The process once begun, the failure of any prominent man to avail himself of it would subject him to increased suspicion.

### 7. The debate in the Ecclesia on Receipt of the finding of the Areopagus.

After spending six months in the investigation (Dein. I. 45), and after repeated demands by the people for their report (Hyp. V. 17-22), the Areopagus laid their finding before the people, in the form of an ἀπόφασις, which contained the names of the men found to have received money and the amount received by each; no evidence was given; the punishment in each case was left to be determined by the courts.

Under the original act empowering the Areopagus they had the authority themselves to pass sentence; but after this had been recalled in the case of those who had brought προκλήσεις, they seem to have decided to leave the punishment in all cases to the courts, for Demades is included in their ἀπόφασις, and we know that he had not availed himself of the πρόκλησις (Dein. I. 104).

The report of the Areopagus having been presented to the

<sup>1</sup> Weil considers the πρόκλησις in this case as a challenge to the Areopagus based on the common challenge to the oath, which also went under the name of πρόκλησις; the report of the Areopagus was to have the same decisive force as the oath of an opponent in a private suit (*Jahrb. f. Philol.* XCIX. 97). But this view is excluded by Hypereides's express statement that this πρόκλησις was directed to the Demos. Weil's view would, moreover, necessitate assuming that Hypereides used the term πρόκλησις in very different senses in the two passages, II. 19 and II. 28: his interpretation could not possibly be given to the second.

Weil's translation of κέκριται, "Sie ist bereits entschieden," needs an ἤδη as much as the German needs "bereits," for the emphasis is not on κέκριται, but on ὥσπερ . . . οὕτως.

<sup>2</sup> For Philokles, see Dein. III. 2, 5, 16, 21. That many others did the same is clear from Hyp. XXXIV. 3-7 and Dein. I. 4.



Ecclesia, it remained for the people to act upon the report themselves or to refer the several cases to the courts for sentence, and to appoint attorneys to represent the state before these courts. The fact that the report contained charges against several men was probably the reason for their decision to send it to the courts.

The motion in the Ecclesia for such disposal of the report gave Demosthenes an opportunity to speak before the people in protest against the form of the report; he attacked the report on the ground that it presented names and amounts only, without citing the evidence on which it was based (Hyp. VI. 13-25). He demanded that the Areopagus declare where he received the money, who gave it to him, and how (Hyp. III. 1-3). He claimed that the Areopagus had found him guilty only to please Alexander (Hyp. XIV. 9-13).<sup>1</sup>

#### 8. *The trial before the popular court.*

Demosthenes's attempt to send the report of the Areopagus back for specifications was in vain. The people accepted the report, and referred it to the popular courts for sentence on those named in the *ἀπόφασις*. Ten prosecutors were appointed (Hyp. XXXVIII. 2-19, Dein. II. 6).

Demosthenes was the first to be tried.<sup>2</sup> The jury was of 1500 citizens (Dein. I. 107). The charge was *δωροδοκία*, for which the laws fixed the penalty of tenfold the amount of the bribe, but also allowed the jury to inflict the death penalty (Hyp. XXIV. 14 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> That such a debate took place follows from the necessity of the case; between the report of the Areopagus and the action of the courts there must be action by the people to send the cases to the courts and appoint attorneys. The recognition of such a debate enables us to locate statements which have been put into false connection by modern writers. Von Duhn assumes that these protests and challenges were made by Demosthenes at the trial, so being forced to assume that Demosthenes spoke before Hypereides (pp. 53-54).

We probably have a reference to this debate in Dein. III. 1, *ὡς ὑμεῖς ἀπαρτες ἴστε καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἡκούετε*, and in Hyp. XXIV. 26 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hyp. VII. 3-23, Dein. I. 105-6, [Dem.] Epist. II. 14.



The jury accepted the finding of the Areopagus and laid a fine upon Demosthenes, which he was unable to pay.<sup>1</sup> He was accordingly imprisoned, but escaped and fled from Attica. Our accounts of the amount of the fine are as varied and unreliable as most of the statements of the secondary sources. It should have been 200 talents according to the law. Plutarch says it was 50 talents (*Vita*, XXVI.); the life by Zosimos agrees with this statement. The author of the "Life" (*Vit. X. Orat.* 846), says, καὶ ἄλως ἔφυγε πενταπλασίονα ὑποτίσαι μὴ δυνάμενος, εἶχε δὲ αἰτίαν τριάκοντα τάλαντα λαβεῖν; but in speaking of Demosthenes's return he assumes that he owed the state only 30 talents. We have really no reliable knowledge of the amount of the fine.

#### IV. WAS DEMOSTHENES GUILTY IN THE HARPALOS AFFAIR?

1. He was not guilty of theft or embezzlement or of misappropriation of funds.

No such charge is found in the two speeches of the prosecution. No such charge appears in any ancient author.

2. If he was in any way guilty, the crime was the acceptance of a bribe from Harpalos.

This is the unanimous charge of the contemporaries who attacked him and who knew the circumstances as we cannot know them. Was the charge justified?

(a) Demosthenes did not confess any crime. His so-called 'confession' was a statement of an unwise, but not dishonest, negotiation of a loan for the people. But the statement was probably a mere trick to quiet popular rumors.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that Hypereides, Demosthenes's old associate, nowhere calls upon the jury to exact the extreme penalty, even where he is denouncing Demosthenes most vehemently.

<sup>2</sup> Had Demosthenes had opportunity for an unprejudiced hearing by men competent to sift the facts, we should argue from the fact that he made this statement, that he knew that he was guilty, and could not risk investigation. But in view of the combination against him and the popular clamor, we can argue from the fact of his 'confession' only that he despaired of a fair hearing.



(b) The verdict of the Areopagus declared him guilty. But it contained no specifications whatever as to circumstances or evidence; it was brought in only under repeated pressure by the people, and under circumstances in which it seemed absolutely necessary to fix responsibility upon some one; Demosthenes was responsible for the policy which had brought them into this predicament.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The popular court endorsed the verdict of the Areopagus. But they were acting under great pressure for finding some one guilty, they saw Demosthenes prosecuted by his former friend and supporter, Hypereides, and they were themselves exasperated with him for having snatched from them the possibility of a glorious stroke for freedom. Both parties were eager for his overthrow.

(d) Demosthenes's own party friends attacked him as guilty. But this evidence is weakened by the fact that his action in thwarting the proposed uprising was in their view rank treason, and accountable only on the supposition of bribery;<sup>2</sup> to our view his position as to a rebellion was the only wise one, and needs no imputation of evil motive.

(e) If Demosthenes accepted money from Harpalos, he knowingly put himself into the power of a notorious rascal, a man whose great scheme he had himself ruined, and whom he was sending forth in hopeless flight. To assume that Demosthenes was guilty of such folly is to assume a strange forgetfulness of his own experience, and of the precarious position in which he stood as the opponent of the extreme leaders in both parties. The question involves not so much

<sup>1</sup> A body composed of the Ex-Archons probably represented something more than the average intelligence of the people; yet there was nothing in the qualifications demanded of an Archon of the fourth century, or in his duties, to guarantee any high ability or character. A verdict of the Areopagus can have for us no such commanding force as that of a body of modern judges. There is danger of our laying too great weight upon the many complimentary things that the orators say of them when seeking their verdict. They were certainly liable to the full influence of party prejudice or resentment.

<sup>2</sup> That the break with the extreme anti-Macedonian leaders antedates the Harpalos affair has been clearly shown by H. Haupt, "Die Vorgeschichte des Harpalischen Processes," *Rhein. Mus.* XXXIV. 377 ff.



the assumption of Demosthenes's honesty as the assumption of his sanity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I do not lay great weight upon the story of the slave-treasurer's statement, given by Pausanias (II. 33). While there is nothing improbable in the account, it may be a late invention intended to clear the memory of Demosthenes, and may possibly have been suggested by the warning in Deinarchos's speech that Alexander may yet send Harpalos's slaves to Athens for examination (I. 68). The story is generally accepted by modern writers as authentic; to those who accept it, it should be decisive in Demosthenes's favor. Holm tries to escape its force by the claim that the crime was not bribery but embezzlement, but I have shown that in this he falls into hopeless contradiction with Hypereides and Deinarchos. Droysen (II. 282) and Holm (III. 417) assume that the statements of the slave were already in the hands of the Athenians during the investigation; this is very unlikely; why do we find no mention of such a document in the speeches of Hypereides and Deinarchos? It would be the most important claim of the defence which they would have to combat. Even if we admit Droysen's claim that such evidence would not be legally admissible until after the examination by torture, we should certainly hear of the existence of such a document, and should find Hypereides and Deinarchos warning the jury against its admission. If there was such a document, it was received after the trial. Holm is inaccurate in speaking of the treasurer's "account-book" as having been sent to Athens; Pausanias says nothing about an account-book. Philoxenos examined the slave-treasurer, and sent the results of his questioning in a letter of his own.



IX. — *Anaphora and Chiasmus in Livy.*

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THE importance of the study of anaphora and chiasmus is set forth by Nägelsbach-Müller, *Lat. Stilistik*<sup>8</sup>, p. 652, "Wir sind daher der festen Überzeugung dass jede fruchtbare und lehrbare Doktrin von der lat. Wortstellung in der Periode erst an der Lehre von diesen Figuren einen festen und vernünftigen Halt gewinnt, ja dass sie mit derselben im Grunde schon gegeben ist." Anaphora is here taken as it is defined, p. 634, "Freilich muss nicht nur . . . ein logischer und grammatischer Chiasmus und in letzterem wieder die Kreuzung der Worte von der der Sätze unterschieden, sondern namentlich die Anaphora in viel weiterer Ausdehnung als bisher anerkannt und nicht blos als Wiederholung desselben Wortes am Anfang eines neuen Satzes, sondern als Wiederkehr der nämlichen Wortfolge gefasst werden." As the counterpart of chiasmus, the term anaphora should be used as a synonym of parallelism in sentence development, but in the present paper we shall consider the subject in its restricted sense, — the repetition of the same word in successive statements. This we may term verbal anaphora, as opposed to clausal anaphora, — the repetition of groups of words in parallel construction. But all forms of repetition of words are not to be considered as anaphoric. Some forms of correlation may be considered as stereotyped anaphorisms of a special form, differing from ordinary examples of anaphora in the fact that the first indicates the addition of a corresponding term. It is for this reason that many common forms of expression, *e.g.* *nec . . . nec, sive . . . sive*, and *vel . . . vel* should be considered in a discussion of correlation rather than of anaphora.

The discussion of chiasmus will be limited to its grammatical phase, — the change of the relative order of the successive



parts of a sentence which are grammatically coördinate, or at least grammatically equivalent. While the limitations set to the lines of investigation render the presentation, in a way, unsymmetrical, yet the use of the figures is a part of the 'conscious rhetorical art of Livy, and by considering the parts of speech separately, there can be shown, both for anaphora and chiasmus, the relative importance of the different verbal elements in the rhetorical development of the period.

## I.

## ANAPHORA.

The rhetorical character of verbal anaphora is shown by the fact that it is a marked feature in the speeches reported either directly or indirectly by Livy. In these is to be found a large proportion of the nouns, verbs, and interrogative and conditional statements used in anaphora. In these, emphasis was sought by the repetition of some one verbal element, the recurrence indicating its importance as viewed by the writer or supposed speaker. As a good illustration of this may be taken 40, 15 in the first twelve lines of which are found *cur . . . cur . . . cur, haec . . . haec . . . haec . . . haec . . . haec, nec . . . nec, quia . . . quia, nec . . . nec, indignus . . . indignus*. While this form of rhetorical expression is most noticeable in the parts assigned by Livy to others, some of the finest examples are to be found in what purports to be the words of Livy himself. As illustrations may be given 28, 12, 3 *quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis, alius habitus, alia vestis, alia arma, alii ritus, alia sacra, alii prope dei essent*; and 30, 33, 8 *quibus non lingua, non mos, non lex, non arma, non vestitus habitusque, non causa militandi eadem esset*. However, when these sentences were written, Livy probably had in mind the words of Polybius II, 19, 4 *οἷς οὐ νόμος, οὐκ ἔθος, οὐ λόγος, οὐχ ἕτερον οὐδὲν ἦν κοινὸν ἐκ φύσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους*.

Though emphasis is the end sought in the repetition of independent elements, there are numerous instances in which the anaphora must be considered as dependent, and due to



limitations in verbal expression, or to some prevailing form of statement. Of these, three are noticeable, and may be termed (1) genderic, (2) partitive, and (3) prepositional.

1. **Genderic.** — When there is a succession of nouns in different genders modified by a common attributive element, the easiest way to avoid difficulties connected with 'agreement in gender' is to repeat the modifier with each noun. A few examples will sufficiently illustrate the hundred instances in Livy of this kind of repetition: 1, 35, 5 *Romana se iura*, *Romanos ritus didicisse*; 2, 49, 6 *omnia praemia ab se*, *omnes honores sperare*; 4, 28, 7 *multa vulnere*, *multa caedes*; 27, 44, 5 *duo bella*, . . . *duos ingentis exercitus*, *duos prope Hannibales in Italia esse*; 2, 44, 9 *suos cuique parti magistratus*, *suas leges esse*; 3, 48, 8 *eamne liberorum procreandorum condicionem*, *ea pudicitiae praemia esse*? In the passages where the same word occurs three times, as in 37, 9, 2 *gravia hiberna navium erant*, *grave tributum*, . . . *gravis etiam inopia frumenti*, and in some where it occurs but twice, there is an evident emphasis, but in most instances there is none.

2. **Partitive.** — The repetition of the pronoun is frequently due to the need of distinguishing between the parts of the subject under discussion. Repetition is necessary in such passages which must be carefully distinguished from those in which the relatives refer to a common antecedent, and in which the anaphora might have been avoided, as in 1, 53, 3 *concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi*, *quae digna deum hominumque rege*, *quae Romano imperio*, *quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset*. As examples of the partitive class may be quoted 1, 54, 7 *quae dixerit ipse quaeque viderit refert*; 4, 52, 5 *qui Etruscum mare quique Tiberim accolunt*, and 23, 13, 8 *qui in Italia quique in Hispania essent*. Other classes of pronouns are of more frequent occurrence. There is an occasional instance of *quidam* . . . *quidam*, but much more common are *alter* . . . *alter* and *alii* . . . *alii*. Of the former, Fügner, *Lex. Liv.*, pp. 966–971, gives 77 instances anaphoric, while six are chiastic. *Alii* . . . *alii* are anaphoric in 162 passages, and chiastic in seven. In but a small part



of the passages do the words occur more than twice (see Fügner, p. 945), though in 44, 34, 8 *alii* is used six times.

3. **Prepositional.** — In Livy the preposition is regularly repeated when the nouns are connected by *et*, though 118 passages were noticed in which the connectives are omitted and the preposition repeated, giving a statement differing rhetorically somewhat from the normal with the conjunction expressed; and yet the preposition is an element so weak that these examples must be classed as instances of dependent anaphora. While this is true, the phrases themselves may be emphatic because of the force of the nouns with which the prepositions are used, *e.g.* 2, 32, 7 *eam per aequa, per iniqua reconciliandam civitatem esse*; 26, 12, 14 *sic ad Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam*; 39, 40, 11 *in parsimonia, in patientia laboris et periculi*. . . . While the affirmative prepositions are not usually emphatic, the negative character of *sine* makes it emphatic, and in the 30 passages where it is repeated, the emphasis is on the repeated preposition, *e.g.* 7, 13, 6 *exercitum tuum sine animis, sine armis, sine manibus iudicas esse*; 9, 5, 10 *se solos sine vulnere, sine ferro, sine acie victos*.

#### NEGATIVES.

The use of negatives in anaphora is frequent enough to justify a brief consideration apart from the affirmative statements. While the larger part are instances of the repetition of *non*, the occurrence of other words is noticeable.

1. **Non.** — The best illustrations of *non* in anaphora are 5, 6, 17 *quoniam ea demum Romae libertas est, non senatum, non magistratus, non leges, non mores maiorum, non instituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae*; 28, 42, 6 *Africo bello*. . . *ubi non portus ullus classi nostrae apertus, non ager pacatus; non civitas socia, non rex amicus; non consistendi usquam locus, non procedendi*; and 30, 33, 8 quoted, p. 2, l. 20. *Non* occurs five times in 26, 48, 4; 40, 10, 3; 45, 43, 2; four times 1, 47, 10; 27, 16, 1; and three times in a dozen passages. Noticeable in three passages is the occurrence of other negatives with *non*: 8, 34, 7 *cum polluta semel*



militari disciplina non miles centurionis, non centurio tribuni, non legatus consulis, non magister equitum dictatoris pareat imperio, nemo hominum, deorum verecundiam habeat, non edicta imperatorum, non auspicia observentur, sine commeatu, vagi milites in pacato, in hostico errent, inmemores sacramenti . . . ; 5, 38, 1 ibi tribuni militum non loco castris ante capto, non praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem, si non hominum memores, nec auspiciato nec litato instruunt aciem ; 34, 7, 7 non magistratus nec sacerdotia nec triumphi nec insignia nec dona aut spolia bellica iis contingere possunt. Ninety-three passages were noticed in which *non* is anaphoric. In a few of these it is used with contrasted terms, as in 3, 11, 6 non lingua, non manu ; 9, 34, 15 non die, non hora ; 21, 11, 5 and 32, 15, 2 non nocte, non die ; 30, 42, 19 non terra, non mari. At times the negative is used with the ablative absolute : 1, 15, 2 itaque non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu ; 41, 10, 5 non votis nuncupatis, non paludatis lictoribus ; 45, 21, 4 non ante consulto senatu, non consulibus certioribus factis. In other instances there is a variation in the form of statement, as 1, 47, 10 : non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. In general it may be said that the particular part of speech, with the negative, is not of moment, for this is merely incidental to the phase of the subject under consideration.

Other negatives with adverbial, adjectival, or nominal force are found as follows :

2. **Numquam.** — 9, 19, 15 numquam ab equite hoste, numquam a pedite, numquam aperta acie, numquam aequis, utique numquam nostris locis laborabimus.

3. **Parum.** — 8, 32, 16 cum parum precibus, parum causa proficerent ; 45, 37, 11 parum licentiae, parum avaritiae.

4. **Nemo.** — 4, 4, 8 nemo plebeius patriciae virgini vim adferret ; . . . nemo pactionem . . . coegisset ; 4, 5, 6 nemo est nomen daturus, nemo arma capturus, nemo dimicaturus pro superbis dominis ; 9, 34, 6 ; 27, 5, 3 neminem Carthaginiensem in Sicilia esse ; neminem Siculum . . . non esse ;



omnis in urbes, in agros suos reductos arare ; 28, 20, 6 ; 28, 43, 11 nemo se ostenderet praeter me ; nemo profiteri ausus esset ; 25, 6, 16.

5. **Nihil.** — *Nihil* is used in anaphora with about the same frequency : 2, 9, 3 nihil excelsum, nihil, quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore ; 2, 54, 2 ; 28, 30, 8 ; 29, 3, 14 ; 40, 8, 18 ; 40, 14, 5. In 21, 4, 9 the anaphora is continued by the use of another negative : nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio.

6. **Nullus.** — The last quotation contains *nullus* three times, and other occurrences are 3, 10, 14 nullum terrorem externum, nullum periculum esse ; 6, 28, 1 ; 7, 40, 7 ; 34, 11, 7 ; 38, 53, 4 ; 39, 1, 6.

7. **Ne.** — *Ne* is sometimes repeated with negative commands indirectly stated, as in 4, 4, 6 ne adfinitatibus, ne propinquitatibus, immisceamur, cavent, ne societur, and 41, 23, 7 decretum . . . ne legatos, ne nuntios admitteremus, but in most instances there is a verb for each negative, e.g. 1, 13, 2 ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos ; 3, 10, 14 caveant ne possessione urbis pellantur, ne iugum accipiant. There are also a few instances of the repetition of negative final clauses, as 21, 63, 8 fugisse ne . . . adiret, ne . . . videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret . . . , ne auspicio profectus . . . iret.

#### ADVERBS.

Exclusive of those particles which have come to be used as correlatives, such as *iam . . . iam*, *tum . . . tum*, etc., adverbs are not freely used in anaphora. *Bis* is repeated 7, 40, 6 ; 8, 30, 7 ; 38, 46, 2 bis cum iis pugnatum est, bis loco iniquo subiit. *Male* occurs 9, 34, 2 obruerent eum male parta, male gesta, male retenta imperia ; *segniter . . . segniter* 10, 35, 17 ; and *temere* 6, 13, 1 temere proelium iniit, temere omisit. Other examples contain adverbs of time or of place.

1. **Time.** — *Saepe* occurs 10, 45, 12 saepe in acie, saepe in agmine, saepe circa urbem ; 34, 4, 1 ; and with the comparative 3, 69, 3 plena honorum saepe gestorum, saepius meri-



torum. Single occurrences of other adverbs are as follows : 29, 17, 16 cotidie capitur urbs nostra, cotidie deripitur ; 4, 37, 11 nondum fuga certa, nondum victoria erat ; 10, 36, 2 prius impetus, prius clamor inciperet. There is an instance of *quotiens* . . . *quotiens* 38, 47, 12 ; and of *totiens* . . . *totiens* 10, 39, 15, and 35, 45, 6 totiens legationibus missis Romam, totiens cum ipso Quintio disceptando satis expertum esse.

2. **Place.** — *Hic*, *ibi*, *inde*, *ubi*, and *unde* are the adverbs of place used in anaphora, the last chiefly in questions. *Hic* is found in 9, 4, 11 ; 21, 43, 10 ; and 5, 54, 7, where it occurs five times. *Ibi* is repeated 23, 45, 4 ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi praeteriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam ; 26, 42, 3 ; 27, 48, 9 ; and 31, 24, 12 ibi signa, ibi aciem esse debere, ubi rex esset. *Inde* is occasionally repeated, as in 27, 9, 11 ; 35, 12, 7, and 42, 61, 5. Anaphorisms containing *ubi* are in 1, 6, 3 ubi expositi ubique educati erant ; 39, 43, 4 ; and 39, 4, 9, where it occurs four times. *Unde* is rarely repeated outside of questions, as in 1, 8, 3 unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est.

#### ADJECTIVES.

The repetition of adjectives is frequently due, as has been shown, to a difference in gender of the nouns which they modify. The anaphoric use of numerals is due to the desire to keep clearly distinct the integral character of the nouns. There is often a difference in gender, but nouns of the same gender are at times modified by numerals, as in 1, 28, 7 unam urbem, unam rem publicam, and in different genders, but with the same ending for the numeral as in 40, 46, 8 uno animo, uno consilio. *Quantus* and *tantus* occur each half a dozen times, *quot* three times as in 26, 41, 10 quot classes, quot duces, quot exercitus priore bello amissi sunt ! and *tot* fourteen times as in 30, 30, 7 pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiis amissis ducibus. Other instances of adjectives arranged in anaphora are of the same general character, and can be sufficiently illustrated by a few examples : 3, 69, 3 priores patrum dignam dicere contionem imperio consulari,



dignam tot consulatibus ante, actis, dignam vita omni;  
33, 41, 7 multae fractae, multae naves eiectae, multae haustae  
mari.

## NOUNS.

The anaphoric arrangement of nouns is not of frequent occurrence. Instances of partitive anaphora are 2, 41, 1; 4, 2, 6; and 33, 30, 7, where *dimidius* is used. Other occurrences are *animus* 22, 60, 22; *auspiciis* 6, 41, 4; *virtute* 7, 35, 3; *deos* 6, 1, 19; *equites* 42, 61, 5; *patres* 2, 24, 2; *regem* 35, 42, 9; *veniam* 8, 35, 2. Proper names are repeated in the following: 21, 43, 4 circa Padus amnis, maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano; 45, 38, 7 Literni domicilium et sedem fuisse domitoris Africae, Literni sepulchrum ostendi erubescamus; 1, 28, 6 Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius, Mettius idem huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. In the last there is a combination of anaphora and chiasmus, *Mettius* holding its place at the head of each clause, while the other words form chiasmus, with the order 1234, 1423, 1342.

## PRONOUNS.

The different classes of pronouns are fairly well represented in anaphora though some of them are found only in the speeches. Those most commonly occurring are the possessives of the third person, and other forms which are used adjectively.

1. **Personal.** — Pronouns of the first person are limited to 28, 28, 11 si ego morerer, mecum expiratura res publica, mecum casurum imperium populi Romani erat? 3, 67, 11 adversus nos Aventinum capitur, adversus nos Sacer occupatur mons; and 1, 13, 3 nos causa belli, nos vulnorum ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus. Pronouns of the second person are somewhat more frequently used, anaphorically. *Tu* is found 43, 14, 6, and *te* 40, 15, 10, and with variation in case 7, 13, 10 cum vincere cupimus tum te duce vincere, tibi lauream insignem deferre, tecum triumphantes urbem inire, tuum sequentes curram . . . adire. The plural is found 1, 32, 10; 7, 30, 19; 21, 44, 2, and three times with variation



in construction, 10, 8, 9 penes vos auspicia esse, vos solos gentem habere, vos solos iustum imperium et auspiciū domi militiaeque. *Secum* is found in a speech indirectly quoted 4, 32, 5 proinde memores secum triumphos, secum spolia, secum victoriam esse . . . arma caperent.

2. **Possessive.** — Instances were noticed of *noster* 23, 42, 2; of *meus* 42, 41, 13; and of *tuus* 5, 21, 2 and 34, 4, 18. *Vester* anaphoric is found in five passages, and *suis* in seventeen, the nouns in most of the passages differing in gender.

3. **Demonstrative.** — Twenty-nine instances of *hic* anaphoric were noticed, and nine of *ille*. The characterization of the Claudian family 9, 34 has "haec est eadem familia," then *haec* six times followed by "hoc est nomen." *Haec* occurs five times, but with variation in statement, 40, 15, 3; and four times 1, 32, 8, and 3, 72, 3. The best illustration of *ille* is in 27, 49, 3 ille . . . sustinuit, ille . . . accendit, ille . . . restituit. Of the eleven occurrences of anaphoric *is*, all are used attributively excepting in 2, 2, 6 regium genus, regium nomen . . . esse, id officere, id obstare libertati; and 8, 31, 4 et nunc id furere, id aegre pati, quod . . . fuerint. Similar to these are two of the twenty instances of repeated *idem*: 22, 39, 18, and 27, 9, 14 idem alias colonias facturas, idem socios.

4. **Relative.** — Relative forms are the most numerous, 135 instances, including both simple and compound forms. In nearly all the passages the relatives refer to a common antecedent, *e.g.* 39, 36, 13 nostrum est, quod evocavimus ad causam dicendam eos, qui ad arma multitudinem exciverant, qui expugnaverant maritima oppida, qui diripuerant, qui caedem principum fecerant.

Of the entire number — 122 — a small part belongs to the partitive class, and in ten passages the relatives are in different cases as in 6, 20, 6 homines prope quadringentos produxisse dicitur, quibus sine faenore expensas pecunias tulisset, quorum bona venire, quos duci addictos prohibuisset. The differentiation of subjects and indirect objects causes the repetition of *aliquid* in 42, 39, 4 aliquid illi regiae maiestati, *hi* aliquid populi Romani nomini . . . existimabant deberi, though, as quoted, there is chiasmus — aliquid illi : . . . *hi* aliquid. Of



the examples in which the pronoun follows *ne*, by far the most striking is 25, 6, 18 relegati sumus . . . ne qua spes, ne qua occasio abolendae ignominiae, ne qua placandae civium irae, ne qua denique bene moriendi sit. Other compounds are found in a few passages, *e.g.* 1, 25, 1 quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit; 25, 29, 6 quo quisquis terra quisquis mari venerit; 39, 16, 2 quidquid his annis libidine, quidquid fraude, quidquid scelere peccatum est, ex illo uno sacrario scitote ortum esse.

5. **Interrogative.** — Interrogative forms are less numerous than are the relatives. The most striking of the forty-three instances of *quid* anaphoric is in 28, 27, 12 quid facinoris in me, quid in patriam . . . quid in deos . . . quid adversus auspicia, . . . quid adversus morem militiae disciplinamque maiorum, quid adversus summi imperii maiestatem ausi sitis. The pronoun with adjectival force occurs 49 times, and, as with other adjectives, the form frequently varies to suit the gender of the nouns, as in 6, 23, 6 quam occasionem, quod tempus, quem insidiis instruendis locum? and 27, 45, 6 cernere ipsos, quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum iter suum celebretur. *Quisnam* is used in like manner 7, 34, 13 quaenam illa inscitia belli ac pigritia est, aut quonam modo isti . . . victoriam pepererunt; 22, 7, 14 quonam duce aut quibus copiis; 24, 27, 5 quonam . . . quove; and in strict parallelism 6, 40, 18 quaenam ista societas, quaenam consortio est?

#### VERBS.

Fifty-five instances were observed of different forms of the verb used in anaphora, the most noticeable being 25, 6, 22 vis tu mari, vis terra, vis acie, vis urbibus oppugnandis experiri virtutem? 40, 9, 8 huic spei tuae obstat aetas mea, obstat gentium ius, obstat vetustus Macedoniae mos, obstat vero etiam patris iudicium; 42, 11, 6 florere . . . florere . . . florere; 29, 17, 18 nego . . . nego . . . nego; 9, 8, 9 vidisse . . . vidisse . . . videre; 40, 13, 2 volui . . . volui . . . volui. There is a combination of anaphora and chiasmus 5, 7, 10 laudare equites, laudare plebem, diem ipsum laudibus



ferre. In each of the remaining passages the verb occurs but twice, as in 4, 5, 2 *minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno?* and with the verb sometimes in the imperative: 2, 55, 7 *adeste cives, adeste commilitones*; 26, 41, 23 *traducite Hiberum, traducite in terras . . . saepe a vobis paragratas*. In eleven passages participial forms were noticed, usually showing distinction of gender, as in 28, 18, 10 *relicta provincia . . . relictis exercitibus*; and 30, 28, 6 *pervagatos capta castra, captas urbes Romanas*.

#### PARTICLES.

The use in anaphora of some of the classes of particles — comparative, conditional, interrogative, and temporal — is noticeable, and the heaping up of *sic* and *ita*, *si* and *nisi*, *cur* and *an*, *cum* and *dum*, sharpen many a point in the speeches. The attention of the listener is fixed by setting forth similar details of the topic under consideration, and by striking the same verbal key from three to six times, or even more, as in 4, 5, 5, where *si* occurs eight times within a single sentence.

1. **Comparative.** — The particles *ita*, *sic*, *ut*, *prout*, *tam* and *quam* are occasionally anaphoric. In the 45 instances observed, the following occur three or four times: In 9, 17, 11, and 32, 21, 13, *ita* is used four times. In 38, 40, 14 is found *prout locus, . . . prout animus pugnantium est, prout numerus, . . . varia fortuna pugnae est*; 38, 46, 10 *sic . . . sic . . . sic*; and three times 6, 17, 2, and 28, 8, 3. *Tam* occurs four times, 45, 37, 1; and three are found in 42, 5, 5. In one of the nine passages containing *quam* anaphoric, the word appears three times in 8, 31, 6 *neque illum magistro equitum infestiores quam tribunis militum, quam centurionibus, quam militibus esse*. Here also may be placed an example of split *antequam* 5, 51, 7 *num ante exorta est, quam spreta vox caelo emissa . . . quam ius gentium . . . violatum, quam a nobis . . . praetermissum?*

2. **Conditional.** — *Si* and *nisi* are frequently repeated, especially in the speeches, and emphasis is thereby added by keeping before the auditor, by repetition, the conditional coloring



of the statement. At times the anaphoric arrangement is continued to considerable length by dwelling upon the items under consideration. Examples, showing the extension to long statements, are: 1, 13, 2 si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite iras; 2, 54, 6 si se commoverit, si respexerit, si . . . crediderit, . . . proponat; 7, 40, 8 ac si cui genus, si cui sua virtus, si cui etiam maiestas, si cui honores subdere spiritus potuerunt, iis eram natus, . . . id . . . ea; 9, 9, 6 si spopondissemus urbem hanc relicturum populum Romanum? si incensurum? si magistratus, si senatum, si leges non habiturum? si sub regibus futurum? Still more noticeable is 4, 5, 5.

3. **Interrogative.** — Questions of all kinds are freely used in the speeches, and, in addition to the anaphorisms with interrogative pronouns, there are 36 others in which are included ten with *ubi*, e.g. 7, 15, 2 ubi illi clamores sint arma poscentium, ubi minae iniussu imperatoris proelium inituros? and a few with *unde*, e.g. 2, 23, 5 sciscitantibus unde ille habitus, unde deformitas. The most noticeable instances of the anaphoric use of *cur* are in 34, 6, 17; 28, 29, 2, and 40, 15, 2, where there are three or four complete questions, as in 28, 43, 13, where *utrum . . . an . . . an . . . an* are used. A few examples will be quoted of particles repeated within a complete question: 2, 34, 9 cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem video; 3, 67, 10 ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit?

4. **Temporal.** — Temporal particles not used interrogatively appear in anaphora, as in 28, 43, 10, where *cum* is used six times; in 22, 60, 25 four; and in 34, 7, 5 and 34, 13, 8 three. *Dum* is found three times in 3, 10, 13; 21, 53, 9; 22, 60, 10; 24, 24, 2; 26, 44, 11; 28, 44, 10; 31, 15, 4.

In addition to the classes already considered, there are a few instances in which the introductory particle is repeated in other kinds of clauses, though repetition is usually the result of the general form of the statement. As illustrations of independent anaphora will be given 4, 3, 8 quod spiratis, quod vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indignantur; 34, 6, 14 cautum erat, quo ne plus auri et argenti facti, quo



ne plus signati argenti et aeris domi haberemus ; 29, 34, 2 Syphacem orant, ut Carthagini, ut universae Africae subveniat.

Considering as a whole the entire number of instances observed, independent elements as verbs and nouns are not freely used. With attributive elements the repetition is often due to the exigencies of gender, while the particles are repeated to hold the mind of the auditor to the same perceptive angle by emphasizing some particular phase of the subject.

## II.

### CHIASMUS.

The criss-cross arrangement of words is a common phenomenon in Latin, and from Livy we have collected 1257 examples. Following the same method as in the discussion of anaphora, we shall give an outline of Livy's chiasmic treatment of the different parts of speech in successive pairs of words, as well as in longer groups within the same sentence, and shall consider chiasmus as a conscious arrangement of the parts immediately in the writer's view in the organization of the sentence as a stylistic unit.

### ADVERBS.

When chiasmus occurs with successive pairs of words containing adverbs, the latter are usually arranged as the means, 85 out of the entire 97 occupying this position. It is worthy of note that 74 are adverbs of time, and that of these, 53 are instances of *prius*, *primo* or *primum* with *dein* or *deinde* ; and that there are 14 others differing from these only in the fact that *dein* or *deinde* is displaced by an equivalent (*inde* five times, *mox* three, *postremo* and *tum* twice, *post* and *hinc* once each). Seven passages were noticed in which other temporal adverbs or their equivalents form the means. Two of these, 10, 11, 12 and 34, 2, 7 have *quondam*, *nunc* ; 36, 17, 13 *ante*, *nunc* ; in one passage the reading is uncertain, 44, 36, 2 *adscesserunt tum* \* \* \* *mox* *adparebat* ; and an adverbial equivalent occurs in 2, 47, 11 *spreta in tempore gloria inter-*



dum cumulatione rediit; 6, 26, 8 pacem in praesentia nec ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt; and 38, 15, 15 ad Anabura inde, et altero die ad Alandri fontes posuit castra.

The five passages in which temporal adverbs form the extremes of the chiasmus are as follows: 3, 62, 8 aequato primum periculo, pudore deinde animos peditum accendunt; 5, 15, 5 primo velut temere iactum sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus coeptum est; 37, 27, 4 quas primo ex classe regia praetor esse ratus institit sequi; apparuit deinde piraticos celoces esse; 38, 43, 4 agros primum depopulatos . . . obsessos deinde et oppugnatos se; 33, 16, 8 primo murmur ac fremitus admirantium, silentium mox a verecundia . . . ortum est. In all of these the second adverb is postpositive, and in this respect the form of statement differs from that in which the adverbs are placed together. The contrast between *sperni* and *agitari*, *murmur* and *silentium*, accounts for their position, and the wide separation of the adverbs, or difference in grammatical structure may explain the divergence, in the other examples, from the normal chiastic arrangement.

The remaining 23 passages have, for the most part, adverbs of manner, only a few designating place. The arrangement of the adverbs as the extremes of the chiasmus is relatively more frequent than with temporal adverbs, this being their position in seven passages. In most instances the adverbs are strongly contrasted in meaning, as may be seen from the following passages: 24, 25, 8 aut servit humiliter aut superbe dominatur; 28, 8, 3 utrum a se audacius an fugacius ab hostibus geratur bellum; 34, 13, 9 nationem rebellantem magis temere quam constanter bellantem. There is a repetition of the adverb 25, 19, 12 id non promissum magis stolidum quam stolidum creditum; and of the sense 41, 7, 9 utrum susceptum sit nequius an inconsultius gestum, dici non posse. In 27, 1, 13 cum tredecim millia alibi, alibi haud plus quam septem inveniam, the adverbs refer to the sources of Livy's statement. The other passages containing adverbs of place are 3, 1, 7 poscere Romae agrum malle quam alibi accipere; 3, 66, 1 nec seditionem domi nec foris bellum acceperunt, 4, 35, 3 annum insequentem, neque bello foris neque domi



seditione insignem, the pairs of words being arranged in different order in the two statements, and 34, 7, 2 magistratibus in provinciis municipiisque, hic Romae infimo generi . . . permittemus.

The pairs of words are usually contrasted in meaning in the passages in which the adverbs form the extremes: 1, 37, 6 male gesta res erat nec gesturos melius; 23, 20, 9 nihil raptim nec temere agendum consulendumque de integro censuit; 24, 14, 3 libertatem tacite mereri quam postulare palam maluerant; 37, 52, 7 ne quid aut immoderate cupisse aut petisse parum modeste videri posset; 39, 25, 14 haec acerbè postremi, cum priores leniter permulsissent iram.

The passages quoted have, in the main, been short, and illustrate fairly well the entire mass of examples. The inversion of the order of the words in the first member brings the two adverbs together, and renders the contrast stronger. The temporal contrast seems to have been the strongest, and even pronouns which are usually the means are sometimes crowded to the extremes, as in 21, 44, 4 ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes. A single passage 37, 19, 7 evastatis Elaeensium primum, deinde Pergamenorum agris, will illustrate the use of chiasmus within the parts of an ablative absolute.

#### ADJECTIVES.

Chiasmus, formed by pairs of nouns with adjectives, was noticed in 154 passages, and in 113 of these the adjectives are attributive. They are placed together with about the same frequency as are the nouns (80:74), a difference not so great as to indicate any preference for the former arrangement.

While there is in many of the examples a sharp contrast in the meaning of the terms, there is often none at all, as can be seen by the quotations which represent the majority of the passages: 2, 46, 1 in tam inritatis animis et occasione ancipiti; 6, 24, 7 insignis triumphis, etiam aetate venerabilis; 3, 29, 5 cum carmine triumphali et sollemnibus iocis; 3, 54, 3 truci ingenio et invidia praecipua; 7, 4, 7 vita agresti et rustico cultu. Though the examples of this type are the



more numerous, there still remains a goodly number in which there is a chiasitic arrangement of terms opposed in meaning. Following sections contain examples showing this, the nouns being placed as the means, and those with attributive adjectives are quoted first :

1. **Adj. Noun × Noun Adj.** — 1, 18, 4 non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum ; 2, 17, 2 magis iam inexpiabili odio quam spe aliqua aut occasione ; 6, 20, 12 et eximiae gloriae monumentum et poenae ultimae fuit ; 7, 2, 3 et cum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina levaretur ; 27, 20, 3 serum post male gestam rem auxilium, consilio . . . haud parum opportuni ; 21, 4, 1 ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet ; 22, 14, 5 non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena ; 23, 18, 11 perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicae ; 35, 10, 5 maior gloria Scipionis . . . Quincti recentior ; 45, 40, 3 inops pecuniae Philippus, Perseus contra praedives. It is to be noticed that in a part of these examples the contrast is formally expressed by comparative particles.

In several passages the nouns are modified by numerals, as in 7, 25, 8 quaternum milium et ducenorum peditum equitumque trecenorum, and also (8, 8, 4) ; 22, 49, 18 ; 28, 8, 7 ; 28, 31, 7 ; 32, 9, 6 ; 33, 3, 9 ; 35, 43, 3 ; 38, 12, 8.

In the following the contrast is not indicated by the form of the statement : 6, 34, 8 nec satis piam adversus sororem nec admodum in virum honorificam ; 7, 31, 6 praepotens opibus populus, luxuria superbiaque clarus ; 7, 34, 3 aditu arduum impedito agmini, expeditis haud difficilem ; 8, 29, 10 par nobile rebus . . . discordia tamen . . . nobilius ; 22, 12, 12 ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua immodicus ; 27, 1, 7 par audacia Romanus, consilio et viribus impar ; 27, 20, 4 ignaram adhuc Romanorum esse, eoque Carthaginiensibus satis fidam censebat ; 28, 17, 8 res tum prosperae ubique Romanis, Poenis autem in Italia adversae ; 39, 37, 15 parum est victis quod victoribus satis est ; 45, 36, 4 asperiores bellantibus eandem victoribus inopem.

2. **Noun Adj. × Adj. Noun.** — The passages in which the adjectives are placed together are like those quoted in the



last section, though they are not usually formally contrasted : 1, 23, 9 non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitiique aleam imus ; 4, 10, 8 aequavit . . . consul togatus armati gloriam collegae ; 4, 13, 1 rem utilem pessimo exemplo ; 4, 24, 4 alios magistratus annuos esse, quinquennalem censuram ; 7, 20, 8 movit populum non tam causa praesens quam vetus meritum ; 24, 6, 7 finis regni Syracusani ac Punici imperii ; 24, 25, 6 animos eis regiones regias coniuges fecisse ; 25, 38, 18 in rebus asperis et tenui spe ; 26, 45, 1 vis magna ex ingenti copia ; 30, 13, 11 hospitia privata et publica foedera ; 30, 36, 3 ad suam veteram nova Lentuli classe adiuncta ; 38, 53, 6 quod rem publicam privatis simultatibus potiore habuisset ; 35, 23, 11 Eumeni absentem et praesentem Attalo gratiae actae ; 36, 43, 12 quattuor et viginti navibus tectis, apertis pluribus paulo ; 38, 50, 7 Roma victrix victorem Africanum expellat (victa Carthago victum Hannibalem immediately precedes) ; 40, 46, 12 amicitias immortales, *mortales* inimicitias. Three instances of nouns modified by numerals were noticed : 26, 14, 6 ; 29, 15, 7 ; and 35, 23, 11 equi duo, bina equestria arma. The remaining examples are of the same general character, though the adjectives are not attributive : 3, 9, 12 nobis miserum, invidiosum vobis ; 3, 41, 8 minus in bono constans quam navum in malitia ingenium ; 6, 34, 5 filiae duae nuptae, Ser. Sulpicio maior, minor C. Licinio Stolorum erat ; 9, 32, 9 fugae minus nec plus caedis ; 27, 17, 11 nomen execrabile veteribus sociis, novis suspectum ; 35, 1, 5 numero impar, superior aliis ; 36, 7, 17 sicut ad belli munera paucissimus, sic nimis multi pro inopia commeatum ; 37, 35, 8 legato magna . . . parva Romanis visa ; 45, 13, 13 quae rebus grata erant, gratiora verbis.

An infinitive is dependent on the adjective in 24, 22, 9 facile esse momento . . . cedere possessione magnae fortunae, facere et parare eam difficile atque arduum esse ; and in 39, 40, 2 a succession of patrician names is followed by *patricii, plebei autem*, with the names of the plebeians. Cf. 26, 11, 5 duae, parva magnaue, res : magna . . . parva ; and 28, 1, 2 Romani Poenique : Hasdrubal . . . Scipionis.



## PRONOUNS.

All classes of pronouns are fairly well represented, those of the first and second person occurring in the speeches. The pronouns generally form the means in the chiasmus, and the juxtaposition adds force to the contrast designed. The clauses in which the pronouns are found are usually short, so that the pronouns are brought close together, though there is a more elaborate chiastic arrangement. 39, 53, 3 *nam etsi minor aetate quam Perseus esset, hunc iusta matre familiae, illum paelice ortum esse; illum ut ex vulgato corpore genitum nullam certi patris notam habere, hunc insignem Philippi similitudinem prae se ferre*; and 45, 41, 10 *et cum ego et Perseus . . . ille . . . ego.*

1. **Personal and Possessive.** — 3, 67, 10 *victi nos aequiore animo quiescimus quam vos victores*; 7, 40, 10 *vos prius in me strinxeritis ferrum quam in vos ego*; 7, 13, 6 *priusquam expertus nos esses, de nobis desperasti*; 23, 9, 8 *valeant preces apud te meae, sicut pro te hodie valuerunt*; 30, 30, 8 *nec in Italia solum vobis bellum, nobis in Africa esset*; 6, 40, 8 *quod petunt alii, nos . . . fastidimus*. The opposite arrangement with principal and subordinate clause is found 3, 65, 11 *ita se quisque extollit ut deprimat alium*. Possessive pronouns with chiastic arrangement occur with about the same frequency, and these, too, are usually the means of the chiasmus: 5, 54, 3 *iniuriae vestrae meaeque calamitatis*; 25, 12, 10 (in the prophecy of the bard Marcius) *nam is divus extinguet perduellis vestros, qui vestros campos pascit placide*; 28, 29, 3 *corpus meum . . . vestras mentes*; 30, 30, 18 *in bonis tuis rebus, nostris dubiis*; 45, 23, 16 *non tam viribus nostris, quam vestris honoribus ac iudiciis*; 45, 41, 12 *hanc cladem domus meae vestra felicitas . . . consolatur*; 25, 8, 8 *leges suas suaque omnia*. Here will be placed those passages in which the genitive of pronouns of other classes are opposed to the possessives: 26, 40, 7 *favorem eius sua insuper invidia auxit*; 27, 32, 6 *raptus ab suis atque alteri equo iniectus*; 2, 3, 3 *quaerentes libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem*; 7, 33, 3 *haud minus libertatis alienae quam suae dignitatis*



memor; 29, 37, 11 famam alterius, cum suae famae damno factum sit. The pronouns form the extremes in 28, 39, 1 vestra merita imperatorumque vestrorum, and 39, 28, 10 aut meo iure aut beneficio vestro.

2. **Demonstrative and Indefinite.** — The examples of demonstrative pronouns arranged in chiasmus have *hic* and *ille* as the means: 1, 13, 2 nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem; 6, 40, 11 L. Sextium illum atque hunc C. Licinium; 34, 46, 12 quartae hic, ille secundae legionis; 40, 6, 4 robore ille, hic flore; and with variation of form in the two members 1, 53, 1 ni degeneratum in aliis, huic quoque decori offecisset. Arrangement of the pronouns as the extremes is illustrated by 22, 39, 8 belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro; 28, 41, 4 illud bellum . . . victoria illa; 5, 8, 11 huius adrogantiam pertinacia alterius aequavit; and 23, 45, 1 eodem se duce, milite alio. Instances of chiasmus with an indefinite pronoun in one member are found 34, 52, 5 caelata pleraque, quaedam eximiae artis; 37, 10, 12 subducit quasdam naves, alias velut subducturus esset; and 45, 10, 14 excesserunt . . . quidam, alii mortem sibi consciverunt.

3. **Pronominal Adjectives.** — The examples of the chiastic arrangement of *alius* and *alter*, the latter also with *unus*, are alike, and only a few need be quoted: 1, 24, 3 foedera alia aliis legibus; 3, 21, 6; 4, 21, 9 cui Prisco alii, alii Structo fuisse cognomen tradunt; 22, 29, 3 caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus; 31, 41, 12; 37, 11, 12; 45, 32, 5; 9, 40, 21 consulem alterum, alterum praetorem declaravit; 9, 46, 3; 23, 11, 9; 25, 27, 1; 30, 40, 6; 34, 9, 4. The passages containing *unus*, *alter* are in 1, 20, 3 duos flamines adiecit Marti unum, alterum Quirino; 22, 42, 11; 35, 41, 8; and 38, 40, 6 praecedere una iussa, altera cogere . . . agmen.

Instances are not infrequent in which the pronouns have nouns as corresponding terms in the other member of the chiasmus. The personal contrast is the same as with pronouns in both members, for the noun and the pronoun are pitted against each other in the chiasmus, though where the nouns do not designate persons, the position on the extremes also occurs. Retaining the same general form of presentation



as in the instances already given, the examples will show Livy's freedom in the use of chiasmus. 22, 29, 6 *ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum*; 23, 9, 7 *quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis?* 45, 44, 20 *non tam honorificam audientibus quam sibi deformem*; 45, 18, 2 *victoriam Romanis, sibi libertatem*. The opposite arrangement in 31, 24, 14 *cum suis ardorem, tum pavorem hostibus iniecit*, is due to the meaning of the nouns, while in other passages noun and pronoun are not strongly contrasted: 4, 18, 1 *militiam aegre patiens satisque fidens sibi, poscere pugnam*; 8, 23, 6 *Fregellas ex Volscis captas dirutasque ab se Romanus populus restituerit*; 22, 24, 10 *bellum gerebat receperatque suos*. A noun and possessive pronoun form the means in 7, 34, 6 *aut fortuna populi Romani aut nostra virtus expediet*; 30, 25, 10 *nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus*; and 41, 3, 7 *si castra metu secundanorum amissa sua virtute recipiant*. A different arrangement in a passage similar to the second of these is found in 33, 28, 10 and 25, 40, 1 *ut non modo suam gloriam sed etiam maiestatem populi Romani augeret*. The same order with contrasted nouns is found 8, 4, 7 *virtute vestra deum benignitate*; 45, 23, 1 *deum benignitate et virtute vestra*; and without contrast in 39, 49, 3 *suo ipse casu et onere equi*; and 45, 4, 3 *fani religione non viribus suis*. In the remaining instances the pronouns form the means excepting when the other terms are more forcible: 9, 19, 7 *arma clupeus sarisaeque illis*; *Romanis scutum*; 42, 62, 7 *et moderationis Persei et illorum pervicacis superbiae futuros testes*; 26, 24, 9 *Asiae Attalus, hi Thracum et Illyriorum reges*; 7, 23, 10 *cum ipsa cunctatio et his animos minuisset et auxisset hosti*; 41, 2, 8 *armati alii, maior pars inermis*; 37, 54, 26 *aliae prius cum Philippo et cum Pyrrho Tarentini*. An adjective may also be one term in the chiasmus as in 1, 25, 3 *nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque observatur animo*.

#### NOUNS.

Under this head will be presented chiasms formed by pairs of nouns which stand in various case relations to each other.



The construction of corresponding terms is not always strictly parallel, though the instances are few in which it is not.

#### A. *Nouns with Genitives.*

The genitives form the means (noun gen.  $\times$  gen. noun) in a majority of the passages in which pairs of nouns with dependent genitives form chiasmus (67:51). However, when the governing noun is in the accusative, the opposite arrangement (gen. acc.  $\times$  acc. gen.) is the prevailing one. Sharp contrast in the meaning of the nouns is less frequent than in the parts of speech already considered, and for this reason only a few of the most striking examples will be quoted, showing the different arrangements of the genitive with other cases: 3, 6, 8 adfecti plerique principum, patrum maior pars; 4, 60, 7 primores plebis, nobilium amici; 9, 36, 6 sed neque commercium linguae nec vestis armorumve habitus eos texit; 9, 17, 3 militum copia et virtus, ingenia imperatorum; 44, 41, 1 imperii maiestas, gloria viri; 8, 39, 8 terrorem equitum peditumque vim; 40, 24, 6 parricidium fratris ac Didae scelus; 1, 52, 3 urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum; 38, 55, 8 malim equidem librarii mendum quam mendacium scriptoris esse; 45, 31, 4 adulando aut Romanorum imperium aut amicitiam regum; 2, 27, 12 consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi iussu; 4, 6, 5 cum Canuleius victoria de patribus, et plebis favore ingens esset; 3, 63, 11 tum primum sine auctoritate senatus populi iussu triumphatum est. Cf. similar statements 7, 17, 9; 21, 18, 10; 38, 51, 4; 4, 20, 1 senatus consulto iussu populi; 7, 13, 5 nobis deum benignitate, felicitate tua populiue Romani, et res et gloria est integra.

#### B. *Nouns without Genitives.*

Successive pairs of nouns not containing genitives are relatively frequent, and most of the possible combinations of cases are represented by some clear-cut examples of chiasmus. The personal element is especially noticeable, and in most



instances the chiasitic arrangement seems to be for the purpose of emphasizing this.

1. **Nominative and Dative.** — 5, 8, 13; 5, 32, 2 L. Lucretio et C. Aemilio Volsinienses provincia evenit, Sappinates Agrippae Furio et Ser. Sulpicio; 8, 37, 3; 10, 16, 5 quod pax servientibus gravior quam liberis bellum esset; 10, 39, 13 (subject acc.) spoliaque ea honestiora victori hosti quam ipsius arma fuisse; 21, 50, 10; 21, 57, 12; 40, 18, 3 Ligures consulibus, praetoribus Q. Petilio urbana, with five other divisions in regular order. The nominatives are the means in 23, 31, 9 Menti Otacilius, Fabius Veneri Erucinae; and 39, 25, 12 quo et Graecis Macedoniam colentibus metus et audacia Philippo minuatur.

2. **Nominative and Accusative.** — 1, 33, 2 cum . . . Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem Albani implessent; 3, 69, 10 cum ira Romanos, illos . . . conscientia . . . irritaret; 7, 3, 3 magis conquisitio animos quam corpora morbi adficerent; 26, 30, 12; 34, 45, 5 C. Laetorius Crotonem, Tempsam C. Cornelius Merula . . . deduxerunt; 33, 7, 2; 37, 39, 8 Romani mediam aciem, cornua Latini tenuerunt; [41, 8, 3]. The cases are arranged in different order 1, 6, 4 Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum . . . capiunt; 3, 27, 6 legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites ducit; 7, 22, 4 profecti, Faliscum Quinctius, Sulpicius Tarquiniense; 35, 51, 8 Salganea Minippus, rex ipse castellum Euripi oppugnare est adortus; 41, 23, 12 graviores eos accolae Graecia habuisset, quam Asia Gallos habebat.

3. **Nominative and Locative.** — 24, 3, 16 Luceriae Sempronius consul, Hannibal haud procul Arpis hibernabat.

4. **Dative and Dative.** — 26, 2, 10 praesidio sociis, hostibus terrori essent.

5. **Dative and Accusative.** — 22, 9, 10 Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erucinae ac Menti. 31, 24, 14 cum suis ardorem, tum pavorem hostibus iniecit (cf. 5, 7, 4 maestitiam omnibus, senatui curam . . . iniecit); 36, 8, 4 sibi commendationem . . . et invidiam regi. 4, 44, 9 nec tum agrum plebi, sed sibi invidiam quaeri; 30, 38, 12 laetitiam populo et ludis celebritatem addidit.



6. **Accusative and Ablative.** — 21, 45, 8 agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens; 33, 18, 9 and 10; 38, 15, 7 ad fluvium Taurum primo die, postero ad Xylinen; 44, 45, 15; 7, 3, 1 aut religione animos aut corpora morbis levavit; 33, 17, 10 et armis magis muros quam se ipsos moenibus tutari.

7. **Appositives.** — There are a few passages in which a chiasmic arrangement of successive pairs of appositives is found. In some of these the parties are hostile, in others there seems to be emphasis placed upon the personal relationship, while in still others, the chiasmic arrangement is perhaps incidental. 3, 44, 7 Vergini patris sponsique Acili; 3, 56, 1 accusatorem primum Verginium et Appium reum deligunt; 3, 61, 2 non Appio duce rem geri, sed consule Valerio; 10, 22, 9 consules creati Q. Fabius et P. Decius, Ap. Claudius praetor; 43, 4, 5; 8, 24, 17 devecta ad Cleopatram uxorem sororemque Olympiadem; 39, 9, 2 sub tutela Duroniae matris et vitrici T. Semproni Rutili. 8, 24, 3 urbe Pandosia in Epiro et Acheronte amni; 21, 29, 6 Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus. 34, 8, 6; 38, 13, 3; 39, 17, 6.

8. **Nouns with Prepositional Phrases.** — In both members of the chiasmus are sometimes found prepositional phrases, which in a majority of the occurrences are placed as the means, and those so placed express either personal or local relations. The names of persons or classes form the means in 1, 13, 8 Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab Titio Titienses appellati; 2, 57, 1; 4, 9, 14 firmitate se munimento ab Romanis circumvallatos quam ab se urbem viderent; 7, 23, 1 M. Popilius Laenas a plebe consul, a patribus L. Cornelius Scipio datus; 10, 17, 11; 30, 4, 6 consulitur Hasdrabul ab Syphace, ab Hannibale Carthaginienses; 32, 39, 2. The names of nations are arranged in the same way in 2, 43, 5 ducendus Fabio in Veientes, in Aequos Furio datur; 24, 44, 9 profecti consules Sempronius in Lucanos, in Apuliam Fabius; and 26, 41, 21 eadem in illos ingruit fortuna . . . nam et deseruntur ab sociis, ut prius ab Celtiberis nos, though in the last example the statements are not exactly parallel. Phrases indicating place are found in 3, 38, 11 haud fere quisquam in foro, in urbe rari erant; 33, 40, 2 Antiochus in Asia . . . in Italia



populus Romanus ; and 34, 9, 4 aperto mari ab altera parte, ab altera Hispanis. Phrases showing the source are found 1, 23, 1 Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba ; and 35, 18, 5 Nabim a Peloponneso concitaturum omnia . . . a Macedonia Philippum.

When the phrases form the extremes of the chiasmus, personal nouns are the means in 7, 25, 4 in castra Galli, Graeci retro ad naves ; 23, 44, 5 in urbem Romani, Poeni in castra receperunt sese ; and 34, 14, 10 ab sinistro cornu et a fronte urgebantur barbari et cohortes a tergo ; 45, 26, 7 cum maior a Romanis metus timorem a principibus suis vicisset. In the remaining passages the parts are strongly contrasted : 1, 52, 6 ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis ; 2, 44, 2 in praesentia re, exemplo in perpetuum ; 8, 1, 10 in pace amicitiam . . . auxilium in bello ; 39, 16, 1 a facinoribus manus, mentem a fraudibus abstinuissent. In 3, 42, 3 fusi et ab Sabinis ad Eretum et in Algido ab Aequis exercitus erant, both members of the chiasmus are composed of prepositional phrases. Similar to this is 38, 3, 1 legatos et Romam ad senatum et ad Scipiones in Asiam . . . misit.

#### VERBS.

Pairs of verbs with nouns form 44 % of the entire number of chiasms, and the verbs are placed together in a majority of instances (298 : 255). The form of statement in the two members, generally parallel, is not always so, as in 1, 19, 1 conditam vi et armis, iure . . . condere parat ; 6, 23, 8 patere te vinci consilio, ut maturius bello vincas ; 6, 26, 7 etsi revicta rebus verbis confutare nihil attinet ; 9, 4, 16 redimite armis civitatem, quam auro maiores vestri redemerunt ; 30, 18, 1 decreta Romae et in Africa gesta sunt. As in these passages the members are not usually separated by intervening words, and the chiasmus in most instances results from the inversion of the order of the words in one of two coördinate statements. Owing to the number of examples and their general similarity, we shall quote only a few illustrative of the chiastic arrangement with different forms of the verb.

1. **Noun Verb × Verb Noun.** — 22, 6, 3 hostes summa vi



petebant et tuebantur cives ; 28, 19, 11 et victum saepe erigeret et adfligeret victorem ; 4, 15, 7 ab deis orti, recepti ad deos ; 33, 22, 1 senatum habentibus postulantibusque triumphum ; 1, 35, 6 nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor ; 24, 18, 2 ad mores hominum regendos animum adverterunt castigandaque vitia ; 27, 13, 12 edicere iam sese omnibus pugnandum . . . et adnitendum singulis universisque ; 21, 51, 1 Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ; 22, 19, 7 strepitu . . . exaudito aut aperientibus classem promunturiis ; 24, 47, 1 imbre conquiescente et propinqua luce.

2. **Verb Noun × Noun Verb.** — 3, 61, 7 praestate virtute peditem, ut honore atque ordine praestatis ; 6, 36, 5 obsidebantur haud paulo vi maiore Velitrae quam Tusculum obsesum fuerat ; 30, 26, 8 superavit paternos honores, avitos aequavit ; 36, 35, 7 reservari eam Achaei, Elei maluerunt contribui ; 5, 44, 2 invictus bello in pace . . . pulsus sum ; 35, 19, 1 suspectus regi, in nullo honore habitus ; 2, 19, 10 ira ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam ; 3, 37, 2 avidè ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem elapsos iuvare nolle ; 26, 12, 14 conferundo cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando ; 22, 28, 9 deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum ; 25, 15, 12 pugnantibus Romanis, Thurinis expectantibus ; 33, 21, 6 terminato bello, pace perpetrata ; 44, 9, 6 stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus ; 3, 25, 6 venerunt questum iniurias et ex foedere res repetitum. With these may also be placed 2, 4, 3 tempus . . . consultando absumunt evincuntque instando.

The words in the two members of the chiasmus are opposite in meaning or strongly contrasted in only a small number of the instances. A few examples will be given : 34, 25, 12 occisi plures, pauci coniecti ; 25, 11, 16 quae impedita natura sunt, consilio expediuntur ; 34, 58, 3 tueri quas habeant et novas complecti ; 1, 9, 4 et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem ; 3, 52, 8 aut plebs non est habenda, aut habendi sunt tribuni. The mass, however, of the examples express unemphatic coördinate actions, and the chiasm merely adds a slight rhetorical coloring to the statement. The presence



or the absence of connectives does not seem to have any influence on the arrangement. Asyndetic collocations are more numerous than those connected by either *et* or *-que*. A few representative passages from the second book will be quoted to show the varying phases of Livy's usage: 23, 8 *se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem*; 25, 6 *data pax, ager-ademptus*; 2, 8, 8 *precationem peragit et dedicat templum*; 27, 1 *qui ante necti fuerant, creditoribus tradebantur et nectebantur alii*; 38, 4 *violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri*; 45, 2 *leniturum iras sanitatemque animis adlaturum*; 59, 7 *ut neque imperia exaudiri neque instrui acies posset*; 61, 5 *ut vestem mutaret aut supplex prensaret homines*; 60, 5 *aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus*.

### THREE OR MORE PAIRS OF WORDS.

When there are three or more pairs of words the monotony of the anaphoric arrangement is sometimes interrupted by chiasmus. The continuation of the narrative by the introduction of several coördinate groups is not a prominent feature in the style of Livy, and, as a result, the number of examples of chiasmus is relatively small, being the most numerous with pairs of nouns with verbs.

1. **Adjectives and Nouns.** — In 5, 37, 8 *truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono*, the reversal of the order of words in the second group gives two instances of chiasmus. In 10, 31, 8, and 9, 7, 3 *silentium illud obstinatum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia solacia aures*, the chiasmus is between the first and second groups. There are three instances, 30, 15, 11 *aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli et scipione eburno, toga picta et palmata tunica donat*; 21, 22, 4 *quinguaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque*; *sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes, erant et triremes quinque*; and 38, 38, 18 *de Hannibale Poeno et Aetolo Thoante et Mnasilocho Acarnane et Chalcidensibus Eubulida et Philone dedendis*. In the account of six pulvinaria 22, 10, 9 there is chiasmus between the first and second groups,



Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, while the remaining four are arranged as is the second. The grouping of the words is especially noticeable, 44, 39, 1 at hercule aciem quidem inconditam inordinatamque habuissimus; castra munita, provisam aquationem, tutum ad eam iter praesidiis impositis, explorata circa omnia, the order of words changing after *munita*, and the abl. abs. (noun part.) being inserted between *iter* and *explorata*.

2. **Nouns with Nouns.** — Three or more successive pairs of nouns are not of frequent occurrence. Four pairs are found, 5, 42, 4 quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset; and 8, 34, 1 stabat cum eo senatus maiestas favor populi tribunicium auxilium memoria absentis exercitus; 30, 34, 12. Three pairs were noticed, 3, 48, 7 scelus Appi, puellae infelicem formam, necessitatem patris deplorant; 4, 15, 5; 5, 20, 3 deum . . . benignitate, suis consiliis, patientia militum; 28, 43, 12; 38, 15, 9 agri fecunditas et multitudo hominum et situs inter paucas munitae urbis; 40, 34, 3; 41, 24, 8 vel viribus nostris, deum benignitate, vel regionis intervallo. Compare with this last 45, 23, 1 deum benignitate et virtute vestra, the order of the words in these pairs being the same as in the preceding sentence, but the relative order of the pairs is changed. The handling of other noun-combinations is similar. There are two instances of chiasmus in three pairs, 8, 6, 15 milites militibus, centurionibus centuriones, tribuni tribunis, and one 31, 21, 8 M. Furius dextrae alae, legionibus M. Caecilius, equitibus L. Valerius . . . praepositi. The order is changed in the last pair, 45, 16, 4, and 28, 38, 13 urbana Cn. Servilio obtigit, Ariminum Sp. Lucretio, Sicilia L. Aemilio, Cn. Octavio. In 25, 3, 4-6 five pairs of datives and nominatives are followed by three in reverse order, and a similar succession of nominatives and accusatives, the first two forming chiasmus, occurs 42, 31, 9 Siciliam C. Caninius Rebilus est sortitus, L. Furius Philus Sardiniam, L. *Canuleius Hispaniam*, C. Sulpicius Galba urbanam iurisdictionem, L. Villius Annalis inter peregrinos.



3. **Nouns with Verbs.**—The first of the passages here quoted have the order of the middle pair reversed, thus causing a double chiasm in each. 5, 6, 1 victoria frui . . . pati taedium . . . exitum expectare; 9, 32, 6 clamor ab Etruscis oritur, concinuntque tubae et signa inferuntur; 23, 16, 6 impedimenta . . . diriperent, clauderent deinde portas murosque occuparent; 26, 9, 7; 28, 26, 11; 28, 32, 9; 31, 30, 3 sata exuri, dirui tecta, praedas . . . agi. In a few others the chiasmus is between the second and the third pairs: 32, 31, 3 populari agros et urere tecta vicosque expugnare coepit; 44, 38, 8; 45, 22, 6 Messana in Sicilia oppugnata Carthaginienses, Athenae oppugnatae et Graecia in servitutem petita et adiutus Hannibal . . . Philippum hostem fecerunt. Where there are more than three pairs, chiasmus occurs 2, 23, 5 villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum . . . imperatum; 3, 14, 5 adloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, deesse in foro, tribunos . . . pati . . . habere; 9, 31, 12 victum acie, castris exutum, nudatum urbibus, ultimam spem . . . temptantem et loco, non armis fretum; 30, 28, 11 sese acie victos, Syphacem captum, pulsos se Hispania, pulsos Italia; 31, 48, 11 fusos caesosque hostis, castra capta ac direpta, coloniam liberatam obsidione . . . captivos recuperatos; 40, 46, 8 legatis senatum, equites recenseatis, agatis census, lustrum condatis.

#### GROUPS OF THREE OR MORE WORDS.

The use of groups of three or more words represents a form of rhetorical development differing somewhat from that discussed in previous sections. The introduction of additional modifying elements more widely separates corresponding terms in the successive groups, and the juxtaposition of the emphatic words requires a correspondingly greater divergence from the ordinary arrangement. With successive groups of three words the relative order is sometimes completely reversed, as in 3, 54, 3 odium in se aliorum suo in eos metiens odio; 7, 37, 2 milites . . . duplici frumento in perpetuum, in praesentia bubus privis binisque tunicis donati; 3, 33, 8 qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis est, summa adversus alios



equitas erat; 9, 12, 3 ut clariorem inter Romanos deditio Postumium quam Pontium incruenta victoria inter Samnites faceret; 10, 13, 7 nec honores magnos fortissimis viris Romae nec honoribus deesse fortes viros; 28, 8, 6 reddidit inde Achaeis Heraeam et Triphyliam; Alipheram autem Megalopolitis . . . restituit; 42, 62, 11 in adversis voltum secundae fortunae gerere, moderari animos in Secundis; 45, 22, 4 nec cuiusquam fortunae invidemus, immo agnoscimus clementiam populi Romani. However, in most of the groups which form chiasmus, one word retains its regular position in both members, and the relative order of the others is changed. Adverbs, pronouns, and verbs most frequently illustrate this type:

1. **Adverbs.** — 2, 10, 8 nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes; 42, 59, 3; 2, 44, 9 partim patrum consiliis, partim patientia plebis; 5, 43, 5; 2, 46, 2 hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant; 3, 11, 6 ferox iuvenis qua nobilitate gentis, qua corporis magnitudine et viribus; 8, 4, 5 ubi pars virium, ibi et imperii pars est; 37, 25, 1 prius victoriae nuntius, deinde adventus Rhodiorum. Similarly with correlative particles as in 4, 31, 7 sicut legatorum ante, ita tum novorum colonorum caede inbutis armis.

2. **Pronouns.** — 1, 12, 9 Aliud esse origines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris; 9, 45, 11 alii exeundum in aciem, alii castra tuenda censent; 35, 12, 14 haec Philippo Nicander, alii Dicaearchus Antiocho; 8, 11, 7 funesta duo consulum praetoria, alterum parricidio filii, alterum consulis devoti caede; 27, 35, 10 alteri adversus Hannibalem Bruttii Lucani, alteri adversus Hasdrubalem; 28, 6, 11; 41, 20, 5 quidam ludere eum simpliciter, quidam haud dubie insanire aiebant; 42, 45, 5.

3. **Verbs.** — 1, 25, 13 imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis facti; 3, 31, 8 iussi inclitas leges Solonis describere et aliarum Graeciae civitatum instituta, mores iuraque noscere; 2, 19, 8 brachium Aebutio traiectionem sit, Mamilio pectus percussum; 23, 45, 9 qui pauci plures vincere soliti estis, nunc paucis plures vix restatis.

The arrangement of the words in these examples illustrates the technical construction of the remainder, — two corresponding words retaining the same relative position in each. The



remaining 81 instances represent the combinations in threes of the different parts of speech, and can be sufficiently illustrated by one or two examples of each of the different combinations: 28, 6, 6 *nec fuga effuse petita, nec pertinaciter proelium initum.* 37, 25, 12 *suus primum furor, deinde fraus Aetolorum*; 4, 41, 1 *non suis vana laudibus, non crimine alieno laeta.* 1, 2, 6 *secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum mortalium operum.* 21, 57, 6 *opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio.* 5, 11, 6 *fugam Sergi Verginius, Sergius prodicionem increpans Vergini*; 7, 13, 4 *virtute culpam nostram corrigere et abolere flagitii memoriam nova gloria.* 21, 50, 4 *et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit*; 28, 7, 11 *Opuntem Attalus ceperat, Philippus Thronium cepit*; 35, 29, 1 *Telemnastus Cretensis popularibus suis, equitibus Lycortas Megalopolitanus praeerat.* 1, 1, 9 *foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam.* 31, 7, 6 *patiamur expugnandis Athenis, sicut Sagunto expugnando Hannibalem passi sumus*; 24, 26, 4 *neque fortunam suam eandem vivo Hieronymo fuisse quam sororis neque interfecto eo causam eandem esse.* 32, 40, 3 *praeberi debere dicebat rex, tyrannus negavit dediturum.*

The following illustrate the extension of the chiastic arrangement to more than three groups: 28, 8, 3 *sic ab Opunte Attalum, sic Sulpicium ab Chalcide, sic . . . Machanidam e manibus suis elapsum*; 2, 61, 6 *idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat*; 32, 9, 2 *de caelo tacta erant via publica Veis, forum et aedes Iovis Lanuvi, Herculis aedes Ardeae, Capuae murus.*

Eight passages were noticed in which words in successive groups of four each have a chiastic arrangement: 2, 9, 8 *nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit*; 10, 2, 2 *Thuriae redditae veteri cultori, Sallentinoque agro pax parta*; 10, 13, 7 *et se gloriae seniorum subcrevisse, et ad suam gloriam consurgentes alios laetum aspicere*; 10, 39, 11 *multa de universo genere belli multa de praesenti hostium apparatu . . . diseruit*; 25, 18, 10 *nihil sibi cum eo consociatum, nihil foedera-*



tum hosti cum hoste; 39, 31, 2 Hispanis recenti victoria ferocibus et insueta ignominia milite Romano incenso; 40, 5, 11 tantum in externis auxiliis est praesidii, quantum periculi *in* fraude domestica; 45, 5, 11 ab illo Delphis volneratum Eumenen, ab se Samothracae Euandrum occisum. Chiasmus in still longer groups is found 4, 56, 4 seu Carventana arx retenta in spem, seu Verrugine amissum praesidium ad iram cum impulsisset; 28, 24, 2 apparuit quantam excitatura molem vera fuisset clades, cum vanus rumor tantas procellas excivisset; 10, 27, 10 adversus Samnites Q. Fabius primam ac tertiam legionem pro dextro cornu, adversus Gallos pro sinistro Decius quintam et sextam instruxit; 38, 51, 11 vos aetatem meam honoribus vestris anteistis, ego vestros honores rebus gerendis praecessi.

## CLAUSES.

In a few passages, successive clauses do not preserve the same relative order. In 28, 29, 4 and 29, 12, 7 cupiens pacem, si posset, si minus, indutias, the affirmative and negative parts of a conditional statement are placed together, and with the affirmative parts on the extremes 30, 30, 21 non tantum . . . si proelio vincas, gloriae adieceris, quantum ademeris, si quid adversi eveniat. In connection with a condition, the pronouns form chiasmus in 21, 13, 2 cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem — sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus —. Other occurrences are in 5, 54, 3 quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant potius caritate sua, ut maneatus in sede vestra, quam postea, cum reliqueritis eam, macerant desiderio; 23, 13, 4 tum pacem speratis, cum vincemur, quam nunc, cum vincimus, nemo dat; 23, 42, 13 quos ut socios haberes, dignos duxisti, haud indignos iudicas quos in fidem receptos tuearis; 34, 4, 16 ne *eas* simul pudere, quod non oportet, coeperit, quod oportet, non pudebit. A good example is in 30, 18, 4 itaque vel tu ad prima signa proelium sustine, ego inducam in pugnam equites; vel ego hic in prima acie rem geram, tu quattuor legionum equites in hostem emitte. In this the two futures with *ego* are placed as the means of the chiasmus, while the two



imperatives with *tu* are on the extremes. In 39, 36, 13-14 two causal clauses form chiasmus: nostrum est, quod evocavimus . . . ; quod . . . interfecti sunt, vestrum est.

As may be seen from the examples collected, chiasmus is found chiefly with two pairs of words, though at times there may be a greater number of these. Change in the relative order of words in groups of three is less common, and in longer groups does not frequently occur. The position occupied by some of the parts of speech in chiasmus is quite definitely fixed, adverbs, pronouns, and nouns designating persons being generally placed as the means, as are the most strongly contrasted words in pairs of adjectives and nouns. In the examples classed under "Nouns" and "Verbs" the corresponding terms are not usually strongly contrasted, yet, as there is a marked tendency to arrange together contrasted terms, it is safe to assume that to these also chiasmus adds some rhetorical coloring.

A comparison of the examples collected of anaphora and chiasmus shows that the normal usage with the different parts of speech in these figures widely differs. Adverbs, nouns, and verbs, freely used in chiasmus, are but rarely anaphoric, an arrangement common for attributives which are relatively not so freely used in chiasmus. Though not used in chiasmus, relative and interrogative pronouns, and several classes of particles are of common occurrence in anaphora whose elements are, as a whole, attributive and introductory, while in chiasmus they are independent, and a factor in interior sentence decoration. Both are employed for the sake of emphasis. Anaphora, emphasizing by repetition, is one of the most marked rhetorical features of the speeches, while chiasmus, indicating emphasis by variation from the normal arrangement, produces the most marked effects in the juxtaposition of strongly contrasted terms, and yet to plain narrative imparts somewhat of a rhetorical tinge.



X. — *The Variant Runes on the Franks Casket.*

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UNTIL 1896 Germanic scholars, with few exceptions, acknowledged Wimmer's doctrine as to the origin of the runes (cf. Sievers in Paul's *Grundriss*, I., p. 246; new edition, p. 257). Wimmer held that the runes, the earliest letters used by Germanic peoples, were an adaptation of the late Latin alphabet, and that this adaptation was made deliberately by some one person who aimed to provide his countrymen with a means of writing. In a paper published in the volume of *Philologische Studien*, issued in the fall of 1896 as a 'Festgabe für Eduard Sievers,' I showed the untenableness of this position, and urged that the Germanic alphabet, like other ancient alphabets, had a natural and gradual growth and was not the artificial product of one man's devising. My position is now largely accepted (cf. Streitberg, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, October 1, 1898, col. 1587, Hirt, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vol. 31, p. 419, etc.). In a paper published in 1899, in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, vol. 2, p. 370, I made a brief report of my success in tracing the runes to the Western Greek alphabets, in other words, to an origin similar to that of the Latin alphabet. A full statement of my proofs and arguments is forthcoming.

Another common but erroneous idea as to the origin of the runes still needs correction. It is assumed that there was an original Germanic form of the runes, of which all other runic alphabets were offshoots, in much the same way as the Scandinavian and English languages are descendants of Germanic speech. That there were national variants of a more common form of the runes, no one will deny. It is also true that there is a tendency for writing to adapt itself to the phonological changes of a language. Still, we must be careful not to assume that the development of forms of



writing corresponded to the development of speech. Writing is not speech, neither is it any part of it. It is only a means, — and a very poor means — of representing speech. It may pass from one dialect to another, and, on the other hand, divers forms may be adopted by communities speaking the same dialect. In this way numerous variant forms of writing arise, but not all persist. Some one form that has some peculiar advantage, as that of being used more extensively, or that of being employed in a state that has political or other supremacy, is likely to crowd out more local or provincial forms. We know that, in the history of the runes, various forms have arisen and succumbed, but we have assumed that there was a time when there was but one universal system. It is my aim in this paper to show that this is an error, and that in the beginning more than one form of Greek writing passed over to the Germanic peoples, just as to the races of Italy, and that, in the struggle that ensued, some succeeded in maintaining themselves and crowding others out. In order to do this I shall present for consideration one of the less successful forms that was thus crowded out.

Parts of a casket, variously called the Franks casket and the Clermont casket, have been in the British Museum for something like half a century. More recently a missing side has come to light in Florence. Within the past year, Professor Wadstein of Gotenburg, Professor Napier of Oxford, and Professor Viëtor of Marburg, have published *fac similes* and discussions of the engravings and inscriptions on this casket. These various publications<sup>1</sup> I have been asked to review for *Anglia*. In the present paper I desire to consider only the peculiar runes that the casket presents.

Most of the runes in the various inscriptions on the casket are like, or nearly like, those found in other Old-English

<sup>1</sup> The Clermont Runic Casket, by Elis Wadstein, Upsala, Lundström, Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1900; The Franks Casket, by A. S. Napier, in *An English Miscellany*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, New York, The Oxford University Press, 1901; *Ett Engelskt Fornminne från 700-Talet och Englands Dåtida Kultur*, af Elis Wadstein, Göteborg, Zachrissons, 1901; The Anglo-Saxon Runic Casket, by Wilhelm Viëtor, Marburg, Elwert, 1901. The last is printed in German and English in parallel columns.






runic inscriptions, but on one side (most of which is in Florence and but a small piece in London) we find for the vowels numerous signs which are not found elsewhere. They are these : —

h	λ	χ	ξ	†	η
a	æ	e	i	o	u







The values of all but the last have been made out by various scholars. The *u* has not hitherto been understood.




Napier (pp. 371, 373, ft. 5) speaks of the letters as arbitrary signs, and believes that the engraver was not much accustomed to use them; Viëtor (p. 7) refers to them as rather puzzling ciphers probably invented for the purpose. This is an error. In fact, it would be difficult to conceive why arbitrary signs should have been introduced for some of the letters in such an inscription. Wadstein's position is more nearly correct. He (pp. 46, 47) regards the variant characters as runes "of rather young date, and doubtless never very much used." As to origin, he supposes them to be derived in part from other runes, in part from Latin letters, but he makes no very serious effort to explain them. The *i*-rune he regards as a variant of the usual *i*-rune, "probably made thus in order to render the rune more distinct when carved on wood along the grain." This is quite out of the question. The whole development of the runes proves that they were usually written with the upright shafts perpendicular to the grain, so that such upright shafts were favored and horizontal bars were avoided. The *e*-rune he derives from uncial *E*, and of the *a*-rune and the *æ*-rune he says vaguely that they "seem to be modifications of the *āc*- and *æsc*-runes (or of an A-letter)." The *o*-rune he regards as "a simplification of the *ōs*-rune; cf. the *ōs*-characters in Stephens' work I., p. 116, No. 9 and p. 118, Nos. 53, 57." At first, I too thought the *o*-rune might be a modification of the usual OE. *o*-rune with loss of one cross bar, but this would give us  $\text{N} \text{N} \text{H}$ . We find, however, that the cross bar always runs the other way, and the first shaft is always short below, both of which phenomena are accounted for by the explanation given on page 190. It is strange that Wadstein should



refer to Stephens' tables as though they could be used *ohne weiteres* as authority. Every form given by him must first be sought for in the original, and judged accordingly. For example, the forms cited by Wadstein are from Old-English manuscript alphabets, which, as I shall show in a forthcoming treatise on the subject, were, for the most part, copied by men of an antiquarian turn of mind but wholly ignorant of what they were copying. In this way the forms have become perverted and their values confused. Strange to say, two of the three characters cited by Wadstein are imperfect copies of the old *ōþil*-runes and not of the *ōs*-runes at all. Thus 53 (a thirteenth century Ms.) has , a miscopying of  with the upper strokes too long; and 57 (a Ms. alphabet of about 1500) has , such a triangular form of the *ōþil*-runes as is referred to below (p. 190).

It will be observed that the letters in question are those that represent the vowels, and it was in the vowels that the phonology of Old English had its most peculiar development. Indeed, it is just here that the ordinary Old-English runes differ most widely from those of other Germanic peoples. The development of the ordinary Old-English runes for the vowels and its relation to the development of the Old-English vowels themselves I have explained in an article in *Modern Language Notes* for June, 1895. Now, it is not difficult to show that we have in the new runes of the Franks casket only another such Old-English development, differing from the ordinary development chiefly in that it is not a variety of the usual runic system but goes back to an early system parallel with that.

The *u* () occurring in the word *agu*, 'magpie,' the bird depicted as flying about in the forest, varies but a trifle from the usual *u* (). Its development out of the latter is similar to the development of  out of  and that of  out of .

The *i*, which appears four times as , once with an extra stroke below, and once with still another added to that, is simply the old Greek broken *iota* ( or ). The increase and the irregularity of the number of strokes is familiar to



us in the case of *s*, for example, in inscriptions from Laconia and Naucratis, and in the Abu-Simbel inscription, as well as in early Scandinavian runic inscriptions. Viëtor erroneously (as I shall show in my review in *Anglia*) sees in the forms with five or six strokes ligatures of *si* and *is*.

The *o*, which appears as  $\text{†}$  and as  $\text{†}$ , is a modification and simplification of the old rune for *o*. The development was probably as follows:  $\text{X}$   $\text{*†}$   $\text{†}$ . That is, the letter acquired vertical shafts like most of the other runes (just as *s* changed from  $\text{S}$  to  $\text{L}$  in Old English, and the broken *iota*  $\text{S}$  became  $\text{L}$  in Melos and the Achaian colonies in Italy, and  $\text{L}$ , with the value *j*, in runic, cf. Charnay, Istaby, etc.); and one of the parallel oblique lines was dropped (as in  $\text{H}$  for  $\text{E}$  and in many other cases). Or a triangular  $\text{X}$ , like that preserved in the Gothic *o*, may have been an intermediate form. Compare the development of our number four from  $\text{X}$  to  $\text{4}$ .

For the *e*-rune two explanations are possible. It is most likely that the development was parallel to that of *f*. As  $\text{F}$  became  $\text{F}$ , so  $\text{E}$  became  $\text{E}$  (as in Greek inscriptions from Amorgos, Naucratis, etc.; cf. also Cyrillic  $\text{E}$ ); and, by simplification,  $\text{*†}$ ,<sup>1</sup> just as  $\text{E}$  became  $\text{H}$  and  $\text{H}$  in Greece, etc., and  $\text{E}$  became  $\text{F}$  in Crete, and  $\text{F}$  became  $\text{F}$   $\text{I}$   $\text{I}$  in Latin cursive. Still, it is possible that  $\text{*†}$  may have arisen out of an  $\text{E}$ , compare Cumaeian  $\text{E}$   $\text{f}$  and Latin cursive  $\text{E}$   $\text{F}$   $\text{I}$ . The change of  $\text{*†}$  to  $\text{†}$  is exactly parallel to the change seen in *n*:  $\text{N}$   $\text{H}$  (as in various Italic alphabets)  $\text{*†}$   $\text{†}$  (for the loss of one shaft in the runic *n*, cf. the change of  $\text{H}$  to  $\text{I}$  in Tarentine Ionic), cf. also the change of *gamma*  $\text{I}$  to  $\text{T}$  in the alphabet of Safa. The similarity of the two letters  $\text{†}$  *n* and  $\text{†}$  *e* led to a further differentiation, namely, in direction, thus:  $\text{X}$  *n* and  $\text{X}$  *e*, — though this violated the general tendency toward perpendicular shafts.

The *a* ( $\text{h}$ ) appears to be a direct descendant of Greek  $\text{A}$  or  $\text{A}$ , in the simplified form  $\lambda$ ,  $\text{A}$ , or  $\text{A}$ . Similarly in early Latin and in Pompeian cursive we find  $\lambda$  and  $\text{A}$  by the side of the

<sup>1</sup> Oscan  $\text{†}$  probably had a similar origin. That is,  $\text{E}$  became  $\text{†}$   $\text{†}$   $\text{†}$ , on the analogy of which there was formed  $\text{V}$ , later  $\text{V}$  and  $\text{I}$ . Cf. Conway, *Italic Dialects*, II., p. 463, I., p. 79.



three-stroke forms. Cf. Ulfilas'  $\aleph$  and the similar breaking in the  $\aleph$  of various Greek and Italic alphabets for  $\Lambda$ , also the development of runic  $u$ :  $\Lambda$   $\aleph$   $\aleph$   $\aleph$  (Thames Fitting, Stephens III, p. 204, *Handbook*, p. 147).

The  $\text{æ}$  ( $\text{æ}$ ) is evidently only a variant of  $\text{h}$ , and was doubtless differentiated from it after the Germanic  $a$  had broken up into Old-English  $a$  and  $\text{æ}$ . Compare the differentiation of  $v$  and  $u$  and of  $i$  and  $j$ .

That the variant runes of the Franks casket had a natural development, there can thus be no doubt. Admitting this, we are confronted by a question of importance. We have seen that our scribe employs both sets of runes and is evidently quite at home in the use of both.<sup>1</sup> It would, however, seem likely that one of the two systems was natural to him, and that he later acquired the other. As we know that the common forms crowded out the rare ones thus far found only in this inscription, it is reasonable to assume that these latter belong to the writer's natural hand, but that he had also learned the other forms, and that they were already in his day encroaching upon the rarer ones. That this assumption is correct can easily be proved. We have seen that the usual  $n$   $\dagger$  appears as  $\text{X}$  to differentiate it the more clearly from  $e$   $\text{X}$ . Now, our scribe employs this oblique form of  $n$  not only in the inscription in which he uses the peculiar runes, but also, with absolute uniformity, in those inscriptions in which he has adopted the usual forms, even consistently turning it to  $\text{X}$  where he writes from right to left. He evidently did not regard his natural oblique  $n$  ( $\text{X}$ ) as sufficiently different from the intruding upright  $n$  ( $\dagger$ ) to need to yield to that. In exactly the same way, Americans, in learning to write the German script, permit themselves to retain certain forms of the English hand that differ but slightly from those of the German. Just as they thereby betray the fact that the English hand is their natural hand,

<sup>1</sup> Napier (p. 373, ft. 5) argues that the "arbitrary vowel-runes" were new to the engraver as evinced by several assumed errors in their use. Viëtor too (p. 8) assumes "the carver for once to have mistaken his new runes." In the review mentioned above I shall show that in most of the cases referred to there is no error.



so our scribe, by retaining his natural *n* (even in *enberig*, *grornþær*, *unneg*, etc., where the erect form would have fitted in better between the neighboring letters), has betrayed the fact that the rarer runes belong to his natural hand and that, when he uses the usual runes, he is adopting forms that were then encroaching upon the usage of his home.

The conclusions that we have thus been able to draw from our inscription are of importance, not only to the history of Old-English runes, but also to the history of runes in general, and thus to that of the Western Greek alphabets. We have seen that the succumbing hand retained the broken Greek *iota* with the value of *i*. In the usual runic system the two forms of *iota* have become differentiated, so that the broken one stood for *j* (cf. p. 190 above) and the straight one for *i*. This differentiation is a part of the  $3 \times 8$  formulation of the futhark, and this formulation was regarded by Wimmer as original, and is probably still generally regarded as common Germanic. In the article referred to above (*Wimmers Runiclehre in Philologische Studien*) I proved by argumentation that this formulation could not have been original. In our inscription we now find the historic evidence that there once was a highly developed system of runic writing in use in northern England that was independent of this formulation and maintained itself until a comparatively late date, that is, until after the time of *i*-mutation and the development (in other Old-English territory) of the runes  $\mathfrak{N}$  *a* and  $\mathfrak{N}$  *o* out of  $\mathfrak{N}$  *ai* and  $\mathfrak{N}$  *an* (*Modern Language Notes*, June, 1896) and of  $\mathfrak{L}$  *c* out of the  $\mathfrak{A}$  and  $\mathfrak{C}$  *c* of earlier inscriptions. This establishes the position taken by me (*Journal of Germanic Philology*, II., p. 374, etc.), that the  $3 \times 8$  formulation was made in some one locality and then extended to others. Attention must also be called to the fact that the *e* in the isolated system is a development of an erect Greek E, while the *e* ( $\mathfrak{E}$   $\mathfrak{M}$   $\mathfrak{M}$ ) of other runic systems arose out of a prone Greek  $\mathfrak{E}$ . We have also seen that the variant runes for *a* and *æ* had a development independent of that of the usual rune  $\mathfrak{A}$ . Similar diversity is found in the earlier stages of other alphabets. It was but yesterday that we were taught



that the Latin alphabet of the republic must be derived (except for G) from some one Greek alphabet having all the same characteristics. We now know that it was the resultant of various rival forms of Greek alphabets, and that H R and V prevailed only after a struggle with Θ P and Υ, all of which were once in use in Rome. In a forthcoming paper (read at the Philological Congress at Philadelphia in December, 1900) on the Praenestine Cista at Paris, I have shown that O and Ω were both in use in Praeneste, and were differentiated, not as close and open<sup>1</sup> o as in the Ionic alphabet, but as open and close o, as in the alphabets of Delos, Paros, Siphnos, Thasos, etc.

The diversities that I have pointed out in the development of the runes, indisputably establish my contention that the Greek letters came to the Germanic peoples as they did to the Italians. Various forms came in and vied with one another, the weaker succumbing sooner or later to the stronger. We have not yet arrived at the point where we can see just when and how the Greek letters passed to the Germanic peoples, but every bit of new evidence is against the theory of their artificial construction, and brings the history of their development into harmony with what we know of the development of other ancient alphabets.

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I may add that Napier is in error in saying (p. 371 ft.) that the variant æ-rune is identical with the c-rune used on the other side of the casket. The variant æ-rune is ʀ (not λ) and the c-rune is ʁ, and this distinction is carefully made in every case. Vietor (p. 8) is also in error in supposing that

<sup>1</sup> It is high time that scholars cease to speak of O and Ω as having been used to distinguish the short and the long sounds of o. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the Greeks did not attempt to indicate quantity (witness α ι υ), but did largely distinguish the open and the close o and the open and the close ε. Thus O represented the o in *poetic*, Ω the o in *or*, E represented the first a in *aerial*, H the a in *care*. That the close vowels were short and the open vowels long was an accident. Still, scholars that know better, continue to express themselves in a way (for example, "das Bedürfnis einer Differenzierung des langen und kurzen o-Lautes," Larfeld in Müller's *Handbuch*, I., p. 521) that can only result in misleading learners.



the variant *a*-rune is identical with the *c*-rune; they too are in all cases carefully distinguished. Vietor, who wishes to read ƿ X N as *āglāc*, imagines our scribe in a truly pitiful plight. He says: "possibly the carver intended to put [translation of German *setzen*] AC, but, having used up the sign C as A, was at a loss what to do, or found the space was too narrow." I shall deal with this matter more fully in the review in *Anglia*.

Napier errs also in supposing that, when the scribe uses the ordinary runes ƿ (in the ligature ƿ *fa*) and M *e* among the variant runes, he is using them not in their ordinary values but as arbitrary signs for some other sounds. (Napier was probably led to this idea by supposing that the variant *æ*-rune was only the ordinary *c*-rune with an arbitrary value.) No violence is done by supposing the letters to have their normal values, and it is not at all strange that a scribe who used two different sets of letters in one and the same piece should have let two of one system slip in among the others. I have done so myself many a time in writing a passage of English after writing one of German or Greek. In the case of *sārdcn*, the scribe may have been unwittingly led to use M in contrast to the following X *n*. Vietor (p. 9) suggests that the rune may be "a disfigured *u*." One is tempted to see a *u* in the letter in as much as *sārdun* is the older form, the more so as I have shown that the engraver's natural *u* was N and the *e* in *afitadores* appears in Napier's *fac simile* in almost exactly this form. One might suppose that the engraver had to some extent confused his natural M *u* and his acquired M *e*. Vietor's *fac simile* of *afitadores*, however, shows the letter to be an M without question, and careful examination of the various *fac similes* makes it certain that we have the same rune in *sārdcn*. We must, therefore, see in *sārdcn* the not uncommon Northumbrian coincidence of the preterit indicative with the preterit subjunctive (Sievers, § 364, A 4).

I said above that it would not be strange if a scribe who used two different sets of letters on one and the same piece should have let some of one system slip in among those of



the other. We have a similar case<sup>1</sup> on the back panel of this very casket. The scribe was translating from the Latin, and had written in runes *Her feġtaþ Titus end Ġiubeas*, when he came to the subordinate clause (describing the second half of the picture) *ut hic fugiant Hierusalim habitatores*. By mistake, he began to copy this in Latin instead of translating it—but continued to write in runic! When he had got his *u* written as  $\mathfrak{u}$ , he discovered his mistake and, while continuing in Latin, used Latin letters. The *T* he placed in the blank space under the central ornament above the arch, *hic fugiant Hierusalim*, follows along the upper right-hand edge. When he turned the panel and completed the sentence, he again slipped and wrote the Latin word in runes!

A few words as to what the inscription does *not* give us. There was no occasion for a sign for *p* or *η*, and, of course, none for the old *z*-rune; hence none of these occur. *X* is used for both the voiced and the voiceless fricatives, standing thus on a par with  $\mathfrak{F}$ ,  $\mathfrak{L}$ , and  $\mathfrak{P}$ .  $\mathfrak{J}$  therefore does not appear for *χ*,<sup>2</sup> and  $\mathfrak{N}$  is used only for the initial breathing. The only word in which we might expect a *j*-rune is the name of the Jews, which appears as *ġiubeas*. Here we find both *X* and *l* employed to represent *j*, and we may infer that the runic system natural to the engraver had no special letter for the sound.  $\mathfrak{X}$  appears twice for *æ*, and  $\mathfrak{A}$  once for *y*, but neither in the inscription with the variant runes. In this there was also no occasion for the use of the runes for *l* and *c*. It is particularly unfortunate that the scribe did not have an opportunity to show us what forms the runes for *c*, *η*, and *p* had in his native hand. We are so much in need of further information as to the development of these runes, that one cannot but seriously regret that this unique monument does not render us in these particulars the aid it does in others.

<sup>1</sup> Burg (cf. Viator, p. 10) deserves credit for the suggestion that the  $\mathfrak{A}$  was "a corruption of *ut*" and that *fugiant* was a subjunctive dependent upon it. I found the *T* and the explanation of the confusion of English and Latin and of runes and uncials.

<sup>2</sup> On a subsequent occasion I shall show that Sievers was right in suggesting *h* as the normal value of  $\mathfrak{J}$ , though it was later used for *χ* too.



# XI.—Notes on the Greek *Θεωρός* and *Θεωρία*.

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## I.

THE word *θεωρός* has the following meanings :<sup>1</sup>

(a) Spectator :

Aesch. *Cho.* 245, *Pr.* 118, *Fr.* 289 ; Eur. *Ion.* 1076 ;  
Plat. *Legg.* 637 C, 953 A, *Rep.* 467 C, 537 A, *Tim.*  
57 D, *Epinom.* 986 D ; Aristot. 1336 b 36,  
1358 b 2, 1391 b 17.

(b) A delegate sent by a state to attend a festival in another state :

Aesch. *Θεωροὶ ἡ Ἰσθμιασταί*, title of a tragedy to which belong *Fr.* 79–82 ; Plat. *Legg.* 950 D, E ; Dem. 19, 128.

(c) One who goes to consult an oracle :

Theogn. 805 ; Epich. in Ath. 3, 107 a ; 7, 362 b ;  
9, 408 d ; Soph. *O. C.* 413, *O. R.* 114 ; Eur. *Hipp.* 792 and 807 ; Thuc. 5, 16, 2.

(d) An envoy sent to announce in another state the coming celebration of a festival :

First occurs in an inscription, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 5, 303 (c. 276 B.C.). In literature first found in Polyb. 31, 3, 1.

(e) A regular magistrate employed by certain of the Greek States :

Thuc. 5, 47, 9 ; and *Archaeologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* 11, 187, no. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Under each meaning of *θεωρός* references are given to all examples which occur in the works of writers not later than Aristotle, or in inscriptions of the same period. No attempt is made to give a complete list of later examples.



From these meanings two main ideas are seen in the word, that of viewing and that of sacred duty. Of these two ideas the first appears alone in meaning (*a*), namely, that of spectator. The idea of sacred duty occurs without that of viewing in meanings (*c*) and (*d*); for the consulting of an oracle and the announcing of a festival are sacred duties.

Both these notions appear almost equally early and there has been some difference of opinion as to which was the original one. Ancient etymologists, from Plutarch on, generally supposed that the first part of *θεωρός* was *θεός*, thus making *θεωρός* to mean originally 'one who goes to perform some service to a god.'<sup>1</sup> This derivation is disproved not only by the Doric form *θεᾶρός*, as has been elsewhere pointed out,<sup>2</sup> but also by the prevailing use of other words from the same stem as *θεωρός*, namely, *θεωρία*, *θεωρεῖν* and its compounds, *θεωροδόκος*, *θεώρημα*, *θεώρησις*, *θεωρητικός*, *θεωρικός*. For before the close of the classical period the religious sense appears alone in only three of these words, *θεωρία*, *θεωρεῖν*, and *θεωροδόκος*, and in these three it occurs in all only four times;<sup>3</sup> while on the other hand are the very numerous instances in which the idea of viewing occurs without any of the other notion.

Although the true formation of the word *θεωρός* has not yet been entirely determined, practically all the views of recent scholars regarding its structure are such as would make the notion of spectator the original one.<sup>4</sup> It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss these views; but in order to make it sure that they are in the right direction, one must explain how the word, beginning with the meaning 'spectator,'

<sup>1</sup> See Plut. *Mor.* 1140 E; Harp. s.v. *θεωρικά*; Ammon. *περὶ διαφόρων λέξεων* 68 Valck.; Zonar. *Lexic.* 1028 Tittman; Poll. 2, 55. Cf. also *E. M.* 448, 43; *E. Gud.* 260, 40 Sturz; Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* 2, 447.

<sup>2</sup> Ahrens, *De Græcæ lingue dialectis* 2, 182.

<sup>3</sup> See Dem. 21, 53; Hyperid. 3, 24-25; [Plat.] *Epinom.* 315 B; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 27, 107. In reality the first of these cases is probably later than the fourth century, and the third may be so.

<sup>4</sup> See Curtius, *Griechische Etymologie*<sup>4</sup>, 253; Allen, *American Journal of Philology*, 1, 132; Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *θεᾶ*; Smyth, *Ionic*, 188, 629; Hoffmann, *Griechische Dialecte* 2, 296.



could eventually be used to mean 'commissioner sent on sacred service'; and of this development the following explanation is suggested.

The bridge between the two very different ideas was formed by the second meaning given above, namely, that of state delegate to a foreign festival. We may reasonably believe that such a delegate was originally called *θεωρός*, that is, spectator or sightseer, because at the beginning attendance on the exhibitions of the festival was thought of as his main duty. But even at the first this may not have been his only duty, and it is certain that later on there were others of more distinctly religious nature. We have many references to participation on the part of *θεωροί* in sacrifices offered at the festivals. Such participation was certainly the rule as early as the fifth century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and as the custom seems a very natural one, we may suppose it to have become the rule much earlier. We hear also of *θεωροί* engaging in sacred processions with various articles of display, and dedicating to the god of the festival first fruits and other gifts.<sup>2</sup> As these sacred duties became more numerous and important, the significance of the word *θεωρός*, as applied to an envoy, became enlarged, and the idea of viewing lost its prominence. *θεωρός* then called to mind a delegate who represented his state not so much by mere attendance upon a festival as by the performance of sacred ceremonies there. In other words a *θεωρός* came to be thought of as a *sacred envoy* rather than a *sight-seeing envoy*; and so people finally fell into the habit of applying the name, because it was convenient, to any envoy who performed sacred duties, even though he was not sent to a festival and had no spectacle to see—such an envoy, for example, as one sent to consult an oracle, announce a festival, or decorate the statue of a god.<sup>3</sup>

It remains to account for the existence of *θεωροί* as regular

<sup>1</sup> See Thuc. 5, 50; Plut. *Nic.* 3; [Andoc.] *κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου* 29.

<sup>2</sup> See [Andoc.] *κατὰ Ἀλκ.* 29; Plat. *Rep.* I, 327 A; Hesych. *s.v.* *θεωρικῶς*; *C.I.G.* 2, 985; Plut. *Nic.* 3; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 6, 29 ff.; 10, 465 ff.; 14, 402 ff.; *C.I.G.* 2860.

<sup>3</sup> See Hyperid. 3, 24–25.



magistrates, such as were appointed in Tegea, Mantinea, and elsewhere. What has just been said leads to the supposition — which there is nothing to prevent — that certain cities, instead of appointing a new set of *θεωροί* for each of the regularly recurring festivals, adopted the plan of appointing a regular board to perform this duty during a specified period. It is true we hear of other duties being performed by these *θεωροί*; but as they would not be kept busy by visiting festivals, these additions to their work are not unnatural, especially as the added duties we hear of are almost all of a religious nature.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

The various meanings of *θεωρός* may thus be accounted for. In the word *θεωρία*, which strictly means 'that which a *θεωρός* does,' there was a parallel development in meaning. When a Greek writer of the classical period says that somebody went on a *θεωρία* to the Olympia or some other festival, we cannot at once conclude that the man mentioned served as state delegate. For as *θεωρός* first meant 'spectator,' so *θεωρία* first meant 'the act of viewing';<sup>2</sup> and it is in several cases applied by classical writers to simple journeys of travel and sightseeing.<sup>3</sup> So in a modern piece of prose composition it would be good classical usage to say that a man had gone on a *θεωρία*, if he had taken a pleasure trip to Europe or attended the Pan-American Exposition. In the *Crito* (52 B), when the Laws say to Socrates: 'you never went out of the city on a *θεωρία* except once to the Isthmus,' it is not implied that in the one instance mentioned Socrates was a public *θεωρός* to the Isthmian games. He was more likely a private sightseer.

In this connection two instances of the use of *θεωρία* per-

<sup>1</sup> See Pind. *N.* 3, 119, and Schol. ad loc.; *C.I.G. Sept.* 1, 39, 40; *Arch.-Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oester.* 11, 187 n. 2. At Tegea the *θεωροί* seem to have acquired certain legislative functions; see Xen. *Hell.* 5, 6, 5. At Mantinea they may have been given similar functions, but this is not clearly indicated; see Thuc. 5, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Soph. *O. R.* 1491; Plat. *Legg.* 4, 720 B et al.

<sup>3</sup> See Hdt. 1, 29; Thuc. 6, 24, 3; Isocr. 4, 182; 17, 4; Xen. *Hiero.* 1, 12.



haps justify special notice. The first is found in Thucydides (6, 16, 2). Alcibiades is speaking before the Athenian ecclesia, and is enlarging on the good his extravagance has done the state. 'Through the brilliancy of my *θεωρία* to Olympia,' he says, 'the other Greeks were led to think our city greater than she really was.' With this he goes on to recall how on that occasion he had won first, second, and fourth places in the chariot race, and had displayed unparalleled magnificence in all the ceremonies of the festival. This *θεωρία* of Alcibiades was one of the most famous in antiquity,—in fact is mentioned in Greek literature oftener than any other,—and it has generally been assumed that Alcibiades was a state delegate or *θεωρός* of Athens. But nothing in the passage points to this, except the general magnificence indicated; and other references lead to the contrary conclusion.

The fullest account of this *θεωρία* is given in the speech *Against Alcibiades* (25 ff.), which has come down under the name of Andocides. This speech is now generally admitted to have been the work of an unknown rhetorician; but we may conclude with probability that it gives us in substance the story current in the fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The speaker states (§ 25) that Alcibiades borrowed certain state emblems, made for display in the festival procession, from the *ἀρχεθεωροί*, the leaders of the Athenian embassy. From this it is clear that Alcibiades is not thought of as an *ἀρχεθεωρός*. Next the orator tells how Alcibiades refused at first to return the emblems, but used them in a procession of his own. Then follows the remark: 'All the foreigners who did not know that the emblems were ours, when they saw the state parade—*i.e.* the Athenian parade—which came after that of Alcibiades, thought that we—the Athenians—had borrowed the emblems from him.' Here Alcibiades appears as a person outside the Athenian delegation. And in the same speech (§ 30) the further statement is made that he had a tent twice as large as the state tent used by the *θεωροί* from

<sup>1</sup> See Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*<sup>2</sup>, 1, 332–339.



Athens. He did not live with them, as a member of the delegation would have been expected to do.

The *θεωρία* of Alcibiades is also referred to by Isocrates (16, 32 ff.) and Plutarch (*Alc.* 11–12), and is not spoken of by them as an official service.<sup>1</sup> So when Thucydides makes Alcibiades say ‘my *θεωρία* to Olympia,’ he is using the word *θεωρία* to denote a visit to the festival made in an unofficial capacity. It is interesting, however, to note that here, as in the case of official *θεωροί*, the word is used to imply more than simple sightseeing.

It was entirely in accord with the freakish character of Alcibiades that he should proceed to the great festival in a private capacity and make a display, as he did, more magnificent than that made by any state through its appointed representatives.

The second passage is in the ‘*Peace*’ of Aristophanes (523 ff.). Here a personified *Θεωρία* will be remembered as one of the two mute characters who accompany the goddess Peace when Trygaeus resurrects her and brings her back to Athens after she has been lost in the Peloponnesian War. Her other companion, *Ὀπώρα*, the harvest, is at once seen to be perfectly in place. But it is not so clear just what blessing of peace *Θεωρία* is intended to personify. That it was a blessing connected with festivals is proven by the joking references to her appearance and character (vv. 876, 879–80, 894). But she is also said to have belonged to the *βουλή* (714), and when brought to earth is given back to that body. She must therefore represent some privilege of the *βουλή* with which the war has interfered. One of the scholiasts (on v. 715) suggests that this privilege called *Θεωρία* was that of sending sacred embassies to outside festivals; but this could hardly be enough to justify the joy with which the *βουλή* is represented as receiving her (906). And we cannot

<sup>1</sup> The word *λειτουργία*, applied by Isocrates (16, 32) to the *θεωρία* of A., is there used in the general sense of ‘service done the state.’ The display of Alcibiades is spoken of in a complimentary way by his son as a *λειτουργία*, although it was not one of the regularly appointed public services which commonly went under that name. Cf. *Lys.* 21, 19.



suppose that *Θεωρία* means 'attending festivals at Athens,' for this privilege could not be said to belong especially to the *βουλή* just because that body had reserved seats.

The explanation desired is suggested by a passage in Demosthenes (19, 128), where the orator tells how Athens had failed on a certain occasion to send to the Pythian games the *θεωροί* from the *βουλή* (τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς θεωροὺς). The *θεωροί* sent to Delphi were therefore chosen from the *βουλή*; and this suggests that the real reason why *θεωρία* belonged to the *βουλή* was because *θεωροί* to all festivals were as a rule chosen from that body. *Θεωρία* is therefore intended to personify the privilege of service as state delegate to festivals, a privilege with which the war has interfered and which is restored with Peace.

### III.

Thumser, in his "De Civium Atheniensium Muneribus" (p. 96) suggests that the *ἀρχεθεωροί* were appointed by the *ἄρχων βασιλεύς*, citing a passage in Demosthenes (πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, § 9), where the following statement is made: 'And what if some other magistrate, such as the *ἄρχων*, *βασιλεύς*, or *ἀθλοθέται*, appoints one of us to a liturgy, what will show which one he is appointing?' It is true that the *ἀρχεθεωρία* was a liturgy;<sup>1</sup> and the passage cited shows that the *ἄρχων βασιλεύς* made appointments to some liturgy or other. But neither this consideration nor the fact that the *ἄρχων βασιλεύς* was intimately connected with religious matters, can lead to a probable conclusion regarding the appointment of *ἀρχεθεωροί*. There is something more definite in a passage of Dinarchus (1, 82), where a meeting at Olympia between Demosthenes and Nicanor the Macedonian is mentioned, and it is said that in order to meet Nicanor there Demosthenes had offered himself as *ἀρχεθεωρός* to the *βουλή*. Here it appears that the *ἀρχεθεωρός* to the Olympian games was appointed by the *βουλή*; and in the case of other festivals the appointment may very well have

<sup>1</sup> See Andoc. *Myst.* 132; Arist. 4, 1122 a, 24.



been made in the same way. This is at least much more probable than the supposition that the ἄρχων βασιλεύς made such appointments. So when Andocides says in his speech "On the Mysteries" (132) that he had been nominated for ἀρχεθεωρός to the Olympian and Isthmian games, the nomination in the latter case as well as the former was probably made to the βουλή.

It has been shown above that the θεωροί were regularly chosen from the βουλή. Considering this fact along with what has just been pointed out as to the choosing of ἀρχεθεωροί, we may accept the general statement of the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Pax* 713) that the βουλή sent out the θεωρίαι, i.e. appointed not only the leaders of the delegations but the other members as well.

#### IV.

Some towns of Greece observed the custom of appointing certain citizens to entertain the θεωροί sent to their festivals. These men were called θεωροδόκοι. They are first heard of in the fourth century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> but may very well have been employed earlier. The feasibility of appointing such entertainers would naturally depend on the size of the home state and the number of θεωροί expected. To have employed θεωροδόκοι for the so-called national festivals, the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, and Nemea, would have been too great a drain on the population of the natives. In fact, literary references prove that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the θεωροί sent to Olympia lived in tents,<sup>2</sup> and we are to suppose that this cruder custom was in vogue in all the great festivals mentioned.

This custom is referred to in an interesting way in a fragment of Heniochus, a comic poet of the fourth century. The fragment belonged to the prologue of a play whose title is unknown. In this prologue the speaker points to a group of

<sup>1</sup> See *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897, 107.

<sup>2</sup> See [Andoc.] κατὰ Ἀλκ. 30; Henioch. *Fr. Inc.* in Kock, *Frsg. Com. Gr.* 2, 433; Dion. H., *De Lysia Iudicium*, 520, 1, Reiske; Diod. 14, 109.



characters before the audience with the remark that they represent cities. He will tell why they are there. 'All this circular space round here,' he says, indicating the orchestra, 'is Olympia, and I want you to believe that in this σκηνή here you see an Olympic (ἐκεῖ) σκηνή θεωρική.'<sup>1</sup> These last two words may mean 'a tent for θεωροί,' and Kock supposes that a tent had been erected on the stage and that this is the σκηνή to which the prologue refers. It is not impossible that such a stage arrangement was called for by the later development of the plot; but we know nothing about the plot beyond the mere Olympic scene described, and to introduce a tent simply to make that scene more realistic would not only have been thought unnecessary but would not have served the purpose, since realism would require not one tent, but a group of tents. Moreover, the phrase σκηνή θεωρική might also mean 'theatrical scene'; and if the prologue simply pointed back to the scene and told his audience to imagine that that σκηνή was a σκηνή θεωρική, the double pun, which so easily suggests itself, would have been gained. If the plot of the play could be discovered, I believe it would be much more likely to prove the pun than the tent.

<sup>1</sup> Kock, *Frsg. Com. Gr.* 2, 433 :

6. τὸ χωρίον μὲν γὰρ τόδ' ἐστὶ πᾶν κύκλῳ
7. 'Ολυμπία, τῇδε δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκεῖ
8. σκηνὴν ὁρᾶν θεωρικὴν νομίζετε.



XII. — *On the Subjunctive with Forsitan.*

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IN a footnote on p. 177 of my *Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses*, I gave reasons for thinking that our Latin grammars are unjustified in classifying the subjunctive with *forsitan* under the same head as *aliquis dicat*, and as having the force of 'may possibly.' Professor Hale in the last number of the *TRANSACTIONS* has made it clear that my note was careless in certain matters of detail, but these errors of detail do not invalidate my general conclusions. The views commonly held regarding this construction seem to me so clearly unfounded that I venture to call attention more particularly than I was able to do in a mere footnote to the probable character of the construction. In doing so I shall take due account of Professor Hale's corrections of my previous statements.

It seems to me as certain as anything of the sort can be in language that, except in conclusions of unreal conditions, the subjunctive with *forsitan* continued, at least until comparatively late times, and probably always continued, to be felt primarily as a subjunctive of indirect question. That is, the presence of the *an* in *forsitan* continued to remain so distinct to the Roman consciousness that the use of the subjunctive mood with this word (except as above indicated) was due solely to the feeling that the verb was introduced by the *an*. My reasons for this view may be summarized as follows.<sup>1</sup>

If *forsitan* were felt merely as an adverb meaning 'perhaps,' and therefore exactly equivalent to *fortasse*, we should expect it to be used in the various purely adverbial relations in which

<sup>1</sup> The collection of instances upon which, in addition to my own collection, I chiefly rely for my statements of facts regarding *forsitan*, *nescio an*, etc., in the present paper, will be found in Sjöstrand's dissertation *Quibus temporibus modisque quamvis, nescio an, forsitan, similes voces utantur*, a dissertation to which I did not have access when I wrote the footnote in my *Studies*.



*fortasse* is used ; but its behavior is as different from that of *fortasse* in this respect as anything could possibly be. There are, as I have shown in my *Studies*, several hundred instances of *fortasse* from the earliest times up to the end of the Ciceronian period, and, if we accept the instances in conditional sentences,<sup>1</sup> where of course the mood is determined by the character of the condition, the verb is in every one of these hundreds of instances in the indicative. Down to the time of Tibullus, there are, on the other hand, 57 instances of *forsitan*.<sup>2</sup> All of these 57 instances take the subjunctive except four. In the four exceptions<sup>3</sup> *forsitan* is not followed by any verb at all. These four exceptions show the first beginnings of a tendency to lose sight occasionally of the origin of *forsitan*, a tendency which I shall speak of more particularly a little later. Just at present, the important thing to notice is that the feeling among Latin writers down to the time of Tibullus was universal that a verb following *forsitan* must be in the subjunctive. The verb after *forsitan* from first to last behaves in every respect exactly as we should expect it to behave, if *forsitan* had always continued to be written as three separate words, *fors sit an*, and exactly as a verb behaves in indirect questions introduced by *nescio an* and *haud scio an*. And I venture to predict that any one who will study the development of these last-mentioned expressions, *nescio an* and *haud scio an*, in connection with

<sup>1</sup> On the expression *fortasse videatur*, see my *Studies*, p. 186; and for *fortasse dubitarim* in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 4, 50, see my *Studies*, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ter. *Eun.* 197; *Phorm.* 717; Varr. *de l. l.* 6, 14; Cic. *de or.* 1, 163; 2, 136; 3, 34; 3, 74; *Brut.* 33; *pro Rosc. Amer.* 5; 89; *pro Rosc. com.* 39; in *Verr.* 1, 98; 2, 6; 2, 11; 4, 47; 4, 124; 4, 132; 5, 4; *pro Cluent.* 141; *pro Mur.* 60; in *Pison.* 32; *pro Ligar.* 38; *Phil.* 14, 18; *de off.* 1, 71; 1, 159; *ad fam.* 1, 8, 2; 4, 5, 1; 8, 3, 1; C. Licin. Calvi *Epigr.*; *Lucr.* 5, 611; 6, 346; 6, 736; *Verg. Ecl.* 6, 60; *Georg.* 2, 288; *Aen.* 2, 506; Cic. *ad Att.* 12, 18, 1; *de or.* 1, 67; 2, 294; *Brut.* 52; *pro Rosc. Amer.* 4; 31; in *Verr.* 1, 44; 2, 78; 3, 206; *pro Sest.* 45; *Tusc. Disp.* 3, 36; *de off.* 3, 29; *ad fam.* 5, 21, 3; *Lucr.* 5, 104; Varr. *de l. l.* 9, 60; Cic. *Phil.* 3, 29; Sall. *Jug.* 106, 3; Cic. *de or.* 2, 189; *pro Rosc. com.* 47; in *Verr.* 2, 159; *Verg. Georg.* 4, 119; Cic. *de off.* 1, 112.

<sup>3</sup> Varro, *de l. l.* 9, 60; Cic. *Phil.* 3, 29; Sall. *Jug.* 106, 3; *Lucr.* 5, 104. The first three instances are not connected with any verb. In the last the future indicative is used, and *forsitan* is added at the end. In Cic. *de or.* 1, 67, some manuscripts read *communicabit* instead of *communicarit*.



*forsitan*, with especial reference to the behavior of the mood that follows them, will be unable to resist the conclusion that all three of these expressions must be classed together, and that the subjunctive after *forsitan* must be explained in exactly the same way as the subjunctive after the other expressions. There is hardly a detail connected with the use of *forsitan* that has not a parallel in the development of *nescio an* or *haud scio an*, a parallel so exact that no room seems left for doubt as to the identity of the constructions. Let us notice some of these parallel uses. *Nescio an* and *haud scio an* were originally used only with verbs and only with the subjunctive of indirect question; *forsitan* was first similarly used only with verbs and only with the subjunctive mood. After a time *nescio an* and *haud scio an* came to be used as mere adverbs, so that they are actually defined in all Latin dictionaries by the words 'perhaps,' 'probably'; *forsitan* likewise came to be used as a mere adverb, and is likewise defined by dictionaries as meaning 'perhaps.' When *nescio an* and *haud scio an* came to be felt as adverbs, then they drifted away from their original use with the subjunctive of indirect question, and came to be used with the indicative mood and in other adverbial relations;<sup>1</sup> *forsitan* passed through exactly the same course of development, and came in late times to be used frequently with the indicative and in other adverbial relations.<sup>2</sup> *Nescio an* and *haud scio an*, when used with a subjunctive that does not stand in the conclusion of an unreal condition, from the earliest times to the latest, without a single exception, take only the present and the perfect tenses

<sup>1</sup> According to Sjöstrand, pp. 15 and 17, *haud scio an*, *haud sciam an*, and *nescio an* occur as adverbs, pure and simple, with the following frequency: *haud scio an*, 17 times in Cicero, 4 times in Pliny; *haud sciam an*, 3 times in Cicero; *nescio an*, 6 times in Cicero, once in Nepos, once in Livy, 9 times in the Senecas, 9 times in Valerius Maximus, 4 times in Pliny the Elder, 10 times in Quintilian, 5 times in Pliny the Younger. An additional instance (apparently overlooked by Sjöstrand) of *nescio an* with the indicative is found in Quint. 6, 3, 6 *motu animi quodam nescio an enarrabili iudicatur*; cf. Quint. Decl. 265 *nescio an turbasti*.

<sup>2</sup> Sjöstrand gives 171 instances of the purely adverbial use of *forsitan* with the indicative mood, with adjectives, adverbs, etc., viz. 4 prior to Tibullus, and 167 in later writers.



of that mood; *forsitan*, in precisely the same way, when it does not stand in the conclusion of an unreal condition, from the earliest times to the latest, takes only the present and perfect tenses. When *nescio an* and *haud scio an* do introduce verbs that form the conclusions of unreal conditions, then the imperfect and pluperfect tenses of the subjunctive are allowed with them; when *forsitan* is used with verbs that form conclusions of unreal conditions, then the imperfect and pluperfect tenses of the subjunctive are allowed with it. Could any parallel be more complete than this parallel between *nescio an* and *haud scio an* on the one hand and *forsitan* on the other?

Fortunately there is no difference of opinion, so far as I know, about the explanation of the subjunctive after *nescio an* and *haud scio an*. While it is true that both of these expressions came to be used as mere adverbs, just as *forsitan* did, so that they could be used with the indicative mood and in other adverbial relations, every one admits that, when they are followed by the subjunctive, the use of this mood (except in conclusions of unreal conditions) is due solely to the fact that the *an*-clause is an indirect question. No one seriously thinks of suggesting any other explanation for the mood. Fortunately, too, there is no difference of opinion as to why *nescio an* and *haud scio an*, when used with the subjunctive, confine themselves (except in conclusions of unreal conditions) exclusively to the present and perfect tenses. Every one agrees that this is due wholly to the fact that the *an*-clause is an indirect question, and therefore behaves like any other indirect question. There is no difference of opinion as to why we never find such expressions as *haud scio an esset*, or *fuisset*, in the sense of 'I do not know whether he was' or 'had been.' The imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive is never found in such cases for the reason that *scio* is a primary tense. In view of the fact that *forsitan* follows so closely the development of meaning and use observed in *nescio an* and *haud scio an*, forming at every stage of this development an exact parallel to the latter expressions, does it not seem well-nigh certain that *forsitan* clings to the present and perfect



tenses for exactly the same reason that these other expressions do?

Let us now compare the very natural explanation, just given, with the one offered by Professor Hale. He thinks that the reason why *forsitan esset*, *forsitan fuisset* were never used in the sense of 'perhaps he was,' 'perhaps he had been,' was that they would have been ambiguous, *i.e.* writers feared that they might be understood as meaning 'perhaps he would be,' 'would have been.' It was to avoid this ambiguity, he thinks, that *fortasse erat* and *fortasse fuerat* (or in later times *forsitan erat* and *forsitan fuerat*) were preferred. But surely, if writers were so very particular to avoid all possible ambiguity arising from *forsitan* with historical tenses, they would have shown equal caution about the primary tenses. When they wanted to say 'perhaps he is,' 'perhaps he did,' why did they not invariably say *fortasse est*, *fortasse fecit*, or, in later times, *forsitan est*, *forsitan fecit*, always avoiding *forsitan sit* and *forsitan fecerit* for fear that these latter expressions might be understood as meaning 'perhaps he would be (or will be),' 'perhaps he would do (or will do)' ?<sup>1</sup> And quite apart from such inconsistencies involved in Professor Hale's explanation, it is a very simple matter to prove definitely that this explanation cannot be the true one, by turning to the passages in which the imperfect or the pluperfect indicative is found with *fortasse* (or, in later times, with *forsitan*). It will be found that, in most cases, these passages are of such a character that there could have been no ambiguity whatever; the contrary-to-fact idea would be entirely out of place in the context, and *forsitan esset*, or *fuisset*, for instance, would have been sure to be understood as meaning 'perhaps he was' or 'had been,' if it had been good Latin in that sense. Notice, for instance, how Professor Hale's explanation sounds when applied to such a passage as that in Cic. *T. D.* 26 (*antiquitas melius ea fortasse cernebat*). To suppose that *antiquitas for-*

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for instance, *forsitan dicat*, *forsitan dixerit*, both used in the future sense of 'perhaps he will say,' with such expressions as *forsitan sit* (e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 33), 'perhaps it is,' and *forsitan fecerim* (e.g. Cic. *pro Rosc. Amer.* 31), 'perhaps I did.'



*sitan cerneret*, if used, could have been understood as meaning 'ancient times would perhaps be seeing now in modern times,' would of course be absurd.

Another item of evidence in support of my explanation of the subjunctive with *forsitan* is found in the position of the word with reference to the verb of the sentence. It is a very remarkable fact that from the earliest times till well into the period of Silver Latin (more exactly, till the time of Martial), *forsitan*, when used with the present and perfect tenses of a supposedly independent subjunctive, persists in standing before the verb. There are, prior to the time of Martial, about 100 instances of *forsitan* with these tenses, and out of this large number there is only one sure instance in which *forsitan* follows the verb, viz. Ov. *ex Pont.* 4, 9, 12.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing of this sort is to be noticed in the behavior of *fortasse* during the same period. This latter word is placed with great frequency *after* the verb it modifies. Indeed, there are some 50 instances of *fortasse* following the verb in Cicero alone (see my *Studies*, pp. 180-185). And even *forsitan* itself behaves very differently in this respect when it is used with the indicative mood or in conclusions of unreal conditions, where the mood and tense are both clearly determined solely by the requirements of the apodosis. In such cases *forsitan* behaves exactly like *fortasse*, and frequently follows the verb. As instances of this position of the word prior to Martial may be cited: Lucr. 5, 104 *dabit forsitan*; Sen. *Nat. Qu.* 5, 9, 4 *habet forsitan*; *Epist.* 3, 1, 7 *expectas forsitan*; Curt. 7, 8, 11 *abhorrent forsitan*; Sen. *de remed.* 13, 6 *perdidisti forsitan*; Pseud. Sen. *H. O.* 916 *adcrit forsitan*; Curt. 7, 4, 17 *incipies forsitan*; Lucan. 9, 869 *quaeremus forsitan*; Ov. *Trist.* 1, 5, 18 *ignoraretur forsitan*; Curt. 4, 11, 18 *de-*

<sup>1</sup> Another instance occurs in Ov. *ex Pont.* 4, 9, 131 *perveniant forsitan*, but this is bracketed by Merkel. An instance of uncertain authorship and date is found in Divers. auctor. *priapea* 15 (Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.*), probably belonging to the end of the Augustan age. The *debeam forsitan* cited by Professor Hale from Cic. *in Verr.* 5, 4 stands in a dependent adversative relative clause, to which fact alone the subjunctive may be due. This makes it possible to take *forsitan* as one of the instances (extremely rare before Tibullus) of the purely adverbial *forsitan*, to be classed therefore with its use with the indicative.



*liberarem forsitan*; 4, 11, 22 *faccerem forsitan*; Ov. *Epist.* 20, 6 *aucta foret forsitan*; Met. 12, 193 *templasset forsitan*; *ex Pont.* 3, 4, 28 *iuvisset forsitan*; 3, 5, 23 *sedissem forsitan*; *Fast.* 2, 498 *haesisset forsitan*; Sen. *Epist.* 5, 4, 4 *invenisset forsitan*; etc. How is this remarkable difference between the position of *forsitan* with the present and perfect tenses of the subjunctive, on the one hand, and that of *fortasse*, and of *forsitan* in its other uses, on the other, to be accounted for? If we suppose that, with the present and perfect tenses, the subjunctive is due to a consciousness more or less distinct of the presence of *an* as an introductory word, then all these differences of behavior will be explained.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting confirmation of the theory I am advocating is found in the behavior of *fortassean* (written also *fortasse an*). This word occurs 11 times, as follows: Accius apud Nonium 138, 30; Sisenna apud Nonium 82, 6; Varro, *de agri cult.* 3, 6, 1; 3, 16, 10; Varro, *de l. l.* 5, 34; 7, 40; 8, 7; Apul. *de deo Socrat.* 5; Gell. 6, 3, 53; 11, 9, 1; 19, 8, 6. From what I have elsewhere shown (*Studies*, pp. 180 ff.), and from the list of instances in Sjöstrand, pp. 38 ff., it will be seen that, among the hundreds of instances of *fortasse* in sentences that do not form conclusions of conditions, there is only one undisputed instance of a subjunctive down to the time of Martial.<sup>2</sup> But just as soon as *an* is appended to *fortasse*, then *fortassean* behaves not at all like *fortasse*, but exactly like *forsitan*. That is, it takes not the indicative, as *fortasse* regularly does, but invariably the subjunctive except in Gellius, 19, 8, 6 *fortassean concessero*, and in two purely

<sup>1</sup> It is true that in late times *forsitan* came to be placed occasionally after the present and perfect tenses of the subjunctive. This fact indicates that the consciousness of the presence of *an* as an introductory word was by this time becoming more indistinct. But it is highly probable that the subjunctive was, even in these late instances, due to the presence of *forsitan*. If the subjunctive were felt as expressing by itself the idea of mere possibility, then we should expect it to be so used occasionally in this late period, without *forsitan* (or *fortasse*; see remarks later on in this discussion).

<sup>2</sup> *Fortasse videatur*, of which there are several instances, probably means 'perhaps it would seem'; see my *Studies*, pp. 185 ff. On *fortasse dubitarim*, commonly read in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 4, 22, 50, see *Studies*, pp. 165 ff. In Plaut. *Pseud.* 888 *credas* is now regarded as a wrong reading.



adverbial uses (Varro, *de l. l.* 5, 34; Apul. *de deo Soc.* 5), where it is not used with a verb. Again, *fortassean* confines itself, exactly as *forsitan* does, to the present and perfect tenses of the subjunctive, except in conclusions of unreal conditions. And still again, *fortassean* invariably precedes its verb, while *fortasse* itself with great frequency follows its verb. Now the only difference that any one can possibly find between *fortasse* and *fortassean* consists of the presence in the latter word of the particle *an*. We are therefore forced to conclude that the only reason why *fortassean*, in contrast with *fortasse*, clings so persistently to the subjunctive and to its position *before* the verb, is that *an* was felt as introducing the subjunctive. But if the presence of *an* in *fortassean* accounts for all the differences of usage between *fortasse* and *fortassean*, what is more probable than that the very same differences of usage observed between *fortasse* and *forsitan* must be accounted for by the presence of the *an* in *forsitan*?

But we are told there are objections to this explanation. It is said to be inconsistent to suppose that, after *forsitan* had come to be used sometimes as a mere adverb, as it undoubtedly did, particularly after the Ciceronian period, it could at other times, in the same period, still retain so much of its original force that, when a subjunctive is used with it, the mood can still be due merely to a consciousness of the presence of *an*. This objection cannot have any validity at all, as long as the subjunctive after *nescio an* and *haud scio an* continues to be classified by everybody as a subjunctive of indirect question. For it is certain that these expressions were also very freely used, both in the Ciceronian period and later, as mere adverbs, modifying adjectives and adverbs, and even in sentences in which the verb stands in the indicative; and still it is equally certain that, when *nescio an* and *haud scio an* are used with the present and perfect subjunctive, the subjunctive is merely a subjunctive of indirect question introduced by *an*; the latest, as well as the earliest, examples of this use are all classed by everybody under the head of indirect questions. No one can admit the correctness of this explanation for *nescio an* and *haud scio an*, and deny the



possibility of it for *forsitan*, without exposing himself to the charge of inconsistency.

One other objection is urged against my explanation by Professor Hale. He says that it will not account for the present tense when referring to the future, as in *forsitan requiras* (*Aen.* 2, 506), for in such indirect questions, he says, the future idea is expressed by a periphrastic form. I find myself on this point wholly at variance with Professor Hale. The present tense is in reality the very tense that my explanation would lead one to expect in such cases. I am sure that Professor Hale made the comments he did in this connection only because he had for the moment forgotten, as far as the original meaning of *forsitan* is concerned, what my explanation really is. This brings up the whole question as to the original force of the *sit* in *fors sit an*, and the original force of the mood in the *an*-clause, which we must now briefly consider. It has always seemed to me that the Allen and Greenough *Grammar* is entirely correct in saying (§ 334, *g*, note) that the *sit* in *fors sit an* originally meant 'would be,' rather than 'may be.' Inasmuch as this grammar gives full recognition to the supposed may-potential force of the Latin subjunctive, freely recognizing, for instance, 'some one may say' as the legitimate translation of *aliquis dicat*, its verdict that the translation 'would be' satisfies the requirements of sense in this case better than 'may be,' must at least be regarded as the verdict of an impartial judge. My reasons for thinking that *fors sit an* did not originally mean 'there may be a chance whether' are as follows: In the first place, the particle *an*, when used to introduce an indirect question, is never used except where the meaning is 'whether or not'; that is, *haud scio an*, *nescio an*, *dubito an*, etc., when introducing indirect questions, literally mean 'I do not know whether the thing is so, or not.' Even when, in translating literally, we stop with saying 'I do not know whether the thing is so,' the idea of 'or not' is felt as distinctly involved. There is always present the idea of doubt as to whether the affirmative or the negative notion is the correct one. Now an alternative indirect question of this sort does not seem to



me appropriate after such a conception as 'there may be a chance.' In English, at any rate, while we say "there is a chance of his coming," "there is a chance that he will come," we do not, if my feeling for English is correct, say "there is, or may be, a chance whether he will come or not." When we have in mind an alternative question, we say not "a chance," but "mere chance," or "chance" (alone, without the article) in the sense of "mere chance." We say, for instance, "it will be mere chance whether he comes or not," or, in a contingent form, "it would be mere chance whether he comes (came? would come?) or not," or "whether he comes or not will depend upon chance." It does not therefore seem to me to make either good sense or good English to translate *forsit an veniat* as meaning 'there may be a chance whether he comes or not.' It certainly makes no sense to say 'there may be mere chance whether he comes or not.' Equally objectionable is the translation 'it may be a chance whether he comes, or not.' We do perhaps occasionally (though very rarely) hear 'it's a chance if,' certainly never 'it may be a chance whether (or if).' The idea called for, as the original meaning of *forsitan*, seems to be 'it would be mere chance whether he comes (came? would come?) or not.' And the probability that this interpretation is correct is perhaps increased by the fact that, instead of *haud scio an*, we sometimes find *haud sciam an*, where the *sciam* is a contingent future use of the subjunctive corresponding to *sit*, 'it would be.' At any rate, I hope it will be admitted by most of my readers that it is more natural to suppose that the *sit* in *forsitan* originally meant 'would be' than it is to suppose that it meant 'may possibly be.' An additional reason for accepting the former interpretation is that it is not at all certain, as I have elsewhere tried to show, that the Latin subjunctive ever had the force of 'may possibly.'

Now we are ready to go back to Professor Hale's assertion that my explanation of the subjunctive after *forsitan* will not account for the present tense in such expressions as *forsitan requiras*. He says that, if my theory were true, we should in such cases expect the periphrastic form *requisiturus sis*.



But such periphrastic forms are expected only when the time of the verb in the indirect question is future to the time of the principal verb. My interpretation of the original force of such expressions, viz., 'it would be mere chance whether he comes (came? would come?),' makes the two verbs contemporaneous in the future. One would *not* therefore expect the periphrastic form of the verb, and, as a matter of fact, the periphrastic form is, if we may trust Sjöstrand, unknown with the exception of one passage in Cicero and one in Tacitus.

Inasmuch as Professor Hale was particularly considering the bearing of the fact that *forsitan* regularly avoids the periphrastic form of the subjunctive, I am surprised that he did not consider the bearing of this fact upon the usual explanation (and his own) of the original force of *fors sit an*. Those who interpret *forsitan dicat*, e.g., as having originally meant 'there may be a chance that he will say' (or, as the advocates of this interpretation would have it, 'there may be a chance whether he will say or not'!) must intend 'may be' to refer to a possibility existing in the present. Surely they cannot understand the idea to be 'there may in the future be a chance (i.e. a chance may later arise) that he will say' (or 'whether he will say or not'!); it is rather 'there may now be (i.e. there is possibly) a chance that he will hereafter say' (or 'whether he will hereafter say or not'!). But if this is so, then the act of "saying" is future to the time of the main verb. This would call for the periphrastic form of the verb in the subordinate clause, and we should expect *fors sit an (forsitan) dicturus sit*. But no one, I am sure, will claim that there exists the slightest probability, or even possibility, that the periphrastic form of the verb was originally used. Professor Hale clearly shows that *he* does not think it was. The very argument, therefore, that Professor Hale unsuccessfully urges against my explanation, may, it seems to me, be urged with great force against the common view. Indeed, this one item of evidence alone seems enough to overthrow completely the usual explanation of the construction.

In closing I wish briefly to refer to the use of the subjunctive illustrated by Pliny's *erraverim fortasse*, interpreted as



meaning 'I may perhaps have erred.' I have elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* XIV., p. 220) expressed the conviction that the perfect subjunctive, unaided, does not have the power to express such an idea as 'I may have erred.' I called attention to the fact that there is no sure instance of an expression like Pliny's *erraverim fortasse* anywhere before the period of decline. Professor Hale attempts to prove this statement false by citing two examples of the third person from Quintilian, but I have frequently made it clear in my writings that I do not consider Quintilian as belonging to a time "before the period of decline." I am surprised that Professor Hale does. I further expressed the belief that Pliny's *erraverim fortasse* was probably the only instance of the kind anywhere in Latin literature — a belief founded upon my own examination of the authors prior to the period of decline and my failure to find, for the period of decline itself, any other instances cited by reference books, or to notice any in my own casual reading in this period. A few other examples have, however, been discovered in Quintilian and the Pseudo-Quintilian by Clement (*Class. Rev.* XIV.) and Sjöstrand, but an extended search in Silver Latinity by both of these scholars has not resulted in finding a similar instance in any other author. The systematic search that has now been made in the period of decline, as well as in the earlier periods, enables me to urge with even greater confidence the view that I expressed in my earlier article. Not one instance has been found anywhere of the type *erraverim* (without *fortasse*) in the sense of 'I may have erred.' There are only a few cases even of the type *fortasse erraverim*, and these are all confined to the period of decline. This in itself completely establishes my contention that our grammars commit a serious blunder in their translations of the perfect subjunctive in the paradigms of the conjugations — translations that are given to the students as typical.<sup>1</sup> The student no sooner

<sup>1</sup> These errors in translating the perfect subjunctive are on a par with the translations of the present subjunctive that used, some decades ago, to be similarly given in the paradigms in grammars. 'I may or can love,' etc., was in those days suggested as the regular translation of *amem*, etc. All this has now been rectified



comes to the conjugation of his first verb than he is given the impression that *amaverim* alone and unaided means 'I may have loved' as regularly as *amo* means 'I love.' It would be quite as justifiable to teach the beginning student that the indicative mood primarily expresses mere possibility, on the ground that *fortasse est* means 'possibly he is.' To be sure the *est* itself cannot express possibility, but neither can *erraverim*, by itself, express possibility, unless there is an instance somewhere in the period of decline that has not yet been discovered.

It remains for us now to account for this late use of the subjunctive with *fortasse*. In my article above referred to I suggested that it arose after the analogy of the subjunctive with *forsitan*. *Forsitan* from the first took after it the subjunctive of indirect question. As *fortasse* was closely associated with *forsitan* in practical meaning, it is probable that it came to take the subjunctive mechanically in mere imitation of its synonym. I am glad to see that Professor Hale in his recent article has accepted this theory as correct. For, in admitting this, he admits all that I have been contending for, viz., that the perfect subjunctive *amaverim*, for instance, cannot by itself express the idea 'I may have loved.' It is true that the use of the subjunctive with *fortasse* in expressions like *fortasse erraverim* might easily have given rise to the use of the perfect subjunctive alone to express the idea of 'may have done so and so'; but, unless such an instance without *fortasse* can be cited, we must conclude that this possible development never actually took place.

(though I notice that Professor Pease in the *Proceedings of Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXI., p. lxiii, is still ready to translate *hoc dicam* as meaning 'this I can say'), but the equally serious blunder of translating *amaverim* as meaning 'I may have loved' is still found in nearly all Latin grammars.







PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE SESSIONS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PA., DEC., 1900, AND AT  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., JULY, 1901,  
ALSO OF THE SESSION OF THE  
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST  
HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., DEC., 1900.



## PREFATORY NOTE.

IN accordance with the announcement made at the regular meeting of the Association held in July, 1899 (PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XXXI., p. vi), the Association held a Special Session at the University of Pennsylvania as a participant in a CONGRESS OF PHILOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES. The other societies meeting at the same time and in the same building of the University of Pennsylvania were the American Oriental Society, Spelling Reform Association, Archaeological Institute of America, Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Modern Language Association of America, American Dialect Society.



# AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

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PHILADELPHIA, December 27, 1900.

The Special Session was called to order at 10.45 A.M. by the President, Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, having no announcements to make at this time, the reading of papers was at once begun.

1. Notes on Juristic Latin, by Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, of the University of Pennsylvania.

1. Originality of Roman Law.

Several citations were given in proof of the originality of the Twelve Tables, and a personal communication from Paul Krueger of Bonn was read affirming adherence to his earlier convictions that Roman law was independent and original.

2. A Juristic Inseparable Compound.

The order in juristic Latin of *contra tabulas bonorum possessio* (not *bonorum contra tabulas possessio*) was shown to be due to the use of *bonorum possessio* as a terminus technicus, an inseparable compound (like *paterfamilias*). The adjective phrase *contra tabulas* modifies the compound. Hence Kalb's suggestion of Greek influence is unfounded.

3. Example of Abbreviated or Symbolical Language.

*Quod iussu*, for the whole rule so beginning, was shown to be used sometimes as an adjective, sometimes as an adverb.

4. *Cum* Absolute in the Twelve Tables.

The occurrence is in Table I. *Causam coiciunto: com peroranto ambo prae-sentes*. Mommsen's view, that *com* must be emended to *tum*; and Voigt's, that *peroranto* must be emended to *perorant*, were shown to be incorrect.

5. *Manus*, *Mancipare*, and *Mancipio*.

*Manus* was originally the generic term for legal authority over the individual. This was shown by fiduciary *coemptio*, also by the compounds.

Gaius' claim that the first element in *mancipare* was ablative, *quia manu res capitur*, was opposed. The view held by the author of the paper was that it was an old terminal dative = classical *in manum*, "into control."

*Mancipio accipere* was held to show a survival of this terminal use in the compound stage.



## 6. Sigmatic Aorists in the Twelve Tables.

All the occurrences were reviewed. Two appear from the context to have a future function. The context does not establish with regard to the others whether their function was future or perfect. They do not have a subjunctive function.

Incidentally Mommsen's emendation *iusserit* for *iussit* was condemned in the Lex Silia de Ponderibus (*Si quis magistratus . . . pondera . . . faxit iussive fieri*), and the suggestion was made that in the Lex Aquilia de damno iniuria dato, *Si occiderit* of the first chapter should be restored as *Si occisit* to correspond with the *Si faxsit* of the third chapter (Ulp. ad. ed. 18, Dig. 9, 2, 27, 5).

## 7. The Trichotomy of Gaius' Institutes.

The note presented some arguments in favor of holding the system to be purely objective: with *persona*, meaning "jural rôle sustained by a being of will": *res*, "jural rôle sustained by a being not of will": *actio*, "jural rôle sustained by a juridical action-form." Affolter's claim that *persona* rarely in republican literature has the meaning "rôle" was combated, and examples from Cicero were cited.

2. Critical Notes on Cicero's *Letters*, by Dr. George Dwight Kellogg, of Yale University.

A collection of the cases of the subjunctive in independent sentences in Cicero's correspondence, including some other kindred constructions, shows that the 1st sing. *volo ut* is not used; *velim ut* is used seven times by Cicero and once each by Lentulus and Dolabella; *velim* with the subjunctive without *ut* in over 300 cases with the 2d sing. alone ("defining parataxis" as E. P. Morris has called it, *A. J. P.*, XVIII., nos. 71-3; or "vestiges of an original parataxis felt as subordinate and dependent" according to C. E. Bennett, *Cornell Stud.*, IX., pp. 66-76).

An examination of the cases of *velim ut* shows several peculiarities.

Ad fam. XVI. 9. 3, has *ita* in correlation with *ut*.

Ad fam. IV. 14. 4, *velim ut eo sis animo quo . . . debes, id est ut*, etc. The usual form is *fac animo forti sis*.

Ad fam. XI. 18. 3, *id quod spero* is inserted between *velim* and *ut sit*. Observe that in ad fam. IV. 14. 4 and Lent. ad fam. XII. 14. 4 we have the idiom-maker *sis* or *sit*; also that in the three following cases verbs like *mandavi*, *opto*, and *curo* are in the context.

Ad fam. IV. 1. 2, *velim* is coördinated with *mandavi*, which takes *ut*; cf. ad Att. I. 12. 1 and 2; II. 7. 5; VII. 1. 2, etc.

In ad Att. X. 16. 1 there is influence of *opto*, and in ad Att. II. 1. 12 similar influence of *curo*.

Ad Q. F. II. 8. 1 shows partial obliquity and substantivization; *tu metuis ne . . . interpellas? tu scis quid sit interpellare. Tu vero ut me . . . interpelles, velim, quid enim mihi suavius?*

In ad Att. V. 21. 9 the *ut*-clause depends on an omitted verb.

Lent. ad fam. XII. 14. 4, *velim tibi ut semper curae sit et . . . suffragere*. The phrase is otherwise without *ut*; cf. this letter, section 5, *v. tibi curae sit*; and twice in ad fam. XV. 13. 3, and III. 3. 1; and once in Caelius, ad fam. VIII. 8. 10. This *ut* may possibly be a corruption from an *et* correlative with the *et suffragere*.

In Dol. ad fam. IX. 9. 3, the *ut* may have arisen from the *tu te*; yet, as it stands,



the relation of the subjunctive, *recipias* is made clear by the *ut*, for a subjunctive *si*-clause is interpolated between the *velim* and the *ut recipias*.

In view of the rarity of the construction *velim ut* in the Letters, and the fact that in the letters to Atticus it occurs only where it is associated with *opto* and *curo*, it is hardly wise to read it in the following passage of doubtful text.

Ad Att. XI. 25. 3 for *velim ut possim adversas*, read *velim id possit adservari* as more according to the usage than Boot's *velim ut possit adservari*. It is customary in this sort of parataxis in the 3d person to have some word inserted between the definitive and its paratactic.

In ad Att. XVI. 7. 8, read *ita plane velim* (sc. *sit*) *et ei dicas*. Cf. ad Att. XIV. 11. 1, *velim Asturae Brutus* (sc. *sit*), and ad Att. XIV. 15. 3, *velim Bruto persuadeas ut Asturae sit*.

In the next three passages read: ad Att. XV. 25, *ex te etiam velim scire*, comparing ad Att. XV. 23, *etiam ex te velim cognoscere*.

Ad Att. IV. 13. 1, *velim scribas ad me*. Word-order and usage make *scribas* preferable to either *perscribas* or *rescribas*.

Ad Att. I. 17. 11, I would read *multa sunt, sed in aliud tempus* (sc. *differo*) *Expectare; velim cures ut sciam*.

The following four cases of the present subjunctive not in parataxis deserve comment.

Ad Att. XII. 37. 4, *scribas igitur, si quid erit certius*. All the other eighty or more cases of *scribas* occur in parataxis defined by *velim, fac*, etc. The other ind. subjunctives in this letter are defined. In the Letters *scribe* is more common than *scribes* (I. Or. and B.), but Wesenberg's *s.i. velim* is more likely.

Ad Att. IV. 19. 2, read for *apud me cum tuis maneat*, either *fac apud* or *fac maneat*. According to the usage in the Letters *fac* as a definitive nearly always precedes a syllable containing the vowel *a*, e.g., *fac habeas, fac valeas, fac animum habeas*, etc.

Ad Att. V. 15. 3, instead of *si me amas, assis tu ad tempus* read *fac assis*; for *fac* might easily drop between *amas* and *assis*. For meaning cf. the phrase *fac venias*, which is found several times.

Ad Att. IV. 4. a, *utique cum tuis apud me sis*; cf. IV. 19. 2, *apud me cum tuis maneat*, and IV. 4 b. 2, *utique fac venias*. The reading of Bosius, *fac sis*, is easy, but I would put the *fac* before *apud* to conform with the euphonic law.

In ad fam. XV. 12. 2, *a te peto ut operam des efficias* read by Mendelssohn with Med. may be paralleled by Pomp. ad Att. VIII. 6. 2, *dabis operam . . . venias*.

3. On Bennett's Critique (*Cornell Studies*, No. IX.) of Elmer's Theory of the Subjunctive of Obligation or Propriety, by Professor Sidney G. Ashmore, of Union University.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest that Professor Bennett has gone too far in his condemnation of Elmer's views. The writer takes up a number of the points which Bennett makes in his attack on Elmer's theory of the subjunctive of obligation or propriety, and discusses them somewhat at length, but always with a leaning towards Elmer's side of the question. It is necessary to Elmer's theory that the frequent occurrence of *neque* (*nec*) with the subjunctive in the classical and ante-classical periods should be shown to be susceptible of an inter-



pretation other than that of the traditional prohibitive. If *neque* with the subjunctive is preceded by the subjunctive with *ne*, as in *ne . . . dixeris nec putaveris*, then and then only, says Elmer, are we certain that *nec* is prohibitive. But Elmer claims that, while *neve* (*neu*) with the subjunctive preceded by a prohibitive subjunctive with *ne* is of frequent occurrence, the subjunctive with *neque* (*nec*) preceded by a prohibitive *ne*-clause does not occur in prose till after the Augustan period, and that it occurs only once in direct address in poetry, although with the third person it is found at rare intervals as a poetic license, e.g., Catullus 61. 126. Elmer has previously shown that *neque* (*nec*) does not occur with the imperative before the end of the Ciceronian period, except in one instance, viz., Catullus 8. 10; the regular word being *neve* (*neu*), where a prohibition is to be carried along from one verb to another. Sometimes, however, the prohibition is carried forward by means of *aut* when the subjunctive is used, or by a repetition of the *ne*.

Against all of this Bennett opposes a single inscription in which he finds *neque* with the imperative, Elmer having cited 121 cases of the imperative with *neve* (*neu*). Bennett cites also a passage from the *Asinaria* of Plautus (vv. 767-801), in which he claims there are nine instances of *neque* with the subjunctive in "close association" with *ne* and the same mood, these nine instances being, in Bennett's view, undoubted cases of the prohibitive use of the subjunctive with *neque* (*nec*). An example taken from Terence (*Eun.* 74) is claimed by Bennett as a tenth instance of *neque* with the prohibitive subjunctive in early Latin.

The present paper endeavors to show that the passage from Plautus contains only one clear example of this construction, instead of nine, inasmuch as in not more than one case out of the nine is the *neque* clause really preceded by the subjunctive with *ne*. The paper also calls attention to the fact that the appearance of the nine instances in question within the narrow limit of some twenty-five lines is a circumstance that tells in favor of Elmer's position and against that of Bennett, rather than the reverse, as Bennett would have us believe. This argument is supported in the paper through a reference to Shakespeare's *King Henry IV.*, and the employment there of the verb 'to mind' in the sense of 'to intend.' That this was a solecistic use in Shakespeare is clear from the fact that, while this verb is used with this meaning as many as four times in that play within the limits of a single scene, it does not appear again in the sense of 'to intend' in any known portion of Shakespeare's works. It has been observed by a student<sup>1</sup> of English philology that solecisms are wont to appear in groups of three or more instances, or else in pairs, but seldom as *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*, in a given author, and that having thus appeared within a limited space, they do not occur again in the same writer. Now if we suppose, for argument's sake, that the nine instances of *neque* with the subjunctive just referred to as occurring within a compass of twenty-five verses are all genuine cases of the prohibitive, as Bennett claims, the fact that this idiom fails to appear again in Plautus (a fact that Bennett admits) is at least suggestive of its possibly solecistic character, especially if the parallel just mentioned be taken into account. The effect of this reference to Shakespeare is to minimize the importance of number, nine instances of an idiom being scarcely of more account than one, provided the nine are found, not scattered, but massed together within narrow bounds. It is as if the mind of the writer had fastened upon an unusual but convenient expression, and was bent, for

<sup>1</sup> Edward Everett Hale, Jr.



the time being, upon using it, but afterwards dropped it because of its abnormal character. The array of examples then which Bennett marshals from Plautus to oppose Elmer in his position regarding *neque* with the prohibitive subjunctive is less formidable perhaps than one might suppose after a cursory reading of Bennett's critique.

With regard to the example taken from Terence (*Eun.* 74) the present paper takes the ground that *neque . . . addas*, being followed immediately by *et . . . feras* with which it is connected in sense (as though the connectives were *et non . . . et*), and being separated by the words of an intervening speaker from the preceding subjunctive with *ne*, in reality fails to derive its character from the *ne*-clause, and may therefore be taken independently. This leaves the way open for the classification of *addas* and *feras* under the head of Obligation or Propriety, a classification affording in this instance, especially, an excellent meaning. The whole passage may be rendered: 'do not make yourself unhappy. PH. Is that your advice? PA. (Yes, and you will act upon it) if you are sensible. You should refrain from adding burdens to those which love in itself possesses for you, and those which are inseparable from the situation you should bear with fortitude.'

Other points connected with the use of *neque* (*nec*) are taken up by Bennett in criticism of Elmer's theory. Elmer holds that *neque* was not regularly used with the volitive subjunctive in any form before the period of the decline. Hence it was not used to carry forward a clause of purpose. From this it follows that the few instances of *neque* following an *ut*-clause (within the periods referred to) must be instances of result and not examples of purpose. To this Bennett demurs, and a discussion of examples cited by Elmer follows in Bennett's critique of Elmer's theory. One of these examples is found in Cicero, in *Cæcil.* 16. 52, *qui si te recte monere volet, suadebit tibi ut hinc discedas neque mihi verbum ullum respondeas*, which is rendered by Elmer, 'will advise you in such a way as to result in your departing without saying a word in reply.' Bennett affirms that such "cannot be the sense of the passage," and that "the context (*qui si te recte monere volet*) shows this." Bennett's translation is as follows: 'if he gives you good advice, his advice will be to go away and keep still about it.' But the paper of which this is an abstract submits that, while this may possibly be the meaning, the context, so far from showing it, rather suggests the following: 'if his advice is of the right sort, he will thereby bring about your departure from this place, without your saying a word in reply.' Thus understood, the *ut*-clause, and therefore the *neque* clause, points to the predominance of the idea of result, which is all that Elmer claims for it. This paper discusses also other examples of a similar character, in reference to which the two scholars mentioned differ as to the exact value of the subjunctive mood. In brief, the paper contends that the endeavor of Bennett to disprove what he calls Elmer's "assault upon prohibitives accompanied by *neque*" can scarcely be regarded as final. Granting this, then Bennett has not yet succeeded (as he claims to have done) in shutting out these instances of *neque* with the subjunctive from a possible reference to Elmer's category of Obligation or Propriety.

Again Elmer's explanation of the negative 'deliberative' subjunctive is submitted by Bennett to similarly destructive criticism. Elmer distinguishes questions of the class represented by *cur ego non laeter?* and those of which *quid faciam?* is an example. The first of these questions, he says, does not appeal



to the will, that is, is not deliberative, but rather expects an answer expressive of obligation or propriety, as 'you should ('ought to') be glad.' The second asks for direction, advice, and therefore does appeal to the will: *i.e.*, is distinctly deliberative. Bennett takes the ground that the logical content of these two forms of question is the same, and appears to base this on the fact that both are rhetorical. Now the writer finds it difficult to follow Bennett here. Whether these two forms of question are rhetorical in force or in reality expect an answer, the logical content in each case would seem to be different. Originally, it is to be presumed, each question was framed with reference to an anticipated answer. The answer to the first question (the question containing a negative) is that given above; the answer to *quid faciam* ('what shall I do') is (logically at least) 'do this,' 'do that.' This last is volitive in character. But Bennett says: "On the score of meaning I can discover no reason why the theory of a volitive origin should not hold for the negative clauses as well as the affirmative." To this it may be replied that Bennett may or may not be correct in claiming a volitive origin for the negative 'deliberative' question; at any rate he appears to fall short of apprehending Elmer's real position. Elmer holds that, inasmuch as the negative is invariably *non* and never *ne*, such questions, whatever their origin, have, as they stand, no dealings with the will, and that the implied answer is therefore never of a volitive nature. Such questions, Elmer thinks, are in fact a proof of the existence of the use for which he contends: for if we can say *cur ego non laeter*? 'why should I not be glad?' we may also say *non laeter* (without the *cur*) in the sense of 'I should ('ought to') be glad.' Now Bennett admits elsewhere that under certain circumstances *non* would naturally invade the domain of *ne*, yet he now says that the supposed volitive origin of the sentence *cur ego non laeter*? requires the use of *ne* there instead of *non* if Elmer's theory be true — and that too when the sentence referred to has confessedly lost its volitive character. But Elmer makes no declaration to the effect that the occurrence of *non* in the negative 'deliberative' question is incompatible with a volitive origin. He does indeed suspect and defend an origin that is not volitive, *viz.*, that from the subjunctive of contingent futurity, as it has been termed, or as the grammarians have it, the 'would' (potential) idea. But it is not necessary to his purpose that he should press this point, and he avowedly refrains from doing so.

The paper then proceeds to discuss Bennett's criticism of Elmer's application of his theory to concrete cases. One of them is from Ennius, *Ann.* 143 (Baehrens), *Nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis*, which must mean: 'neither do I ask for gold nor need you (nor are you under obligation) to give it to me.' The person referred to in the quotation does not say that he will not accept the gold if it is pressed upon him. To take *nec dederitis* as a prohibition, 'nor shall you give it to me,' with Bennett, is to miss the meaning. And here it may be observed that Elmer has defined the term "obligation or propriety" as broad enough to cover the meanings given to 'ought' by English lexicographers, *viz.*, 'to be fitting, proper or necessary,' 'to behoove.' Bearing this in mind we are in a position to find more than one of Bennett's arguments to be somewhat misapplied.

The following example is also from Ennius, *Ann.* 509 (Baehrens), *Nemo me dacrums decoret neque funera fletu faxit*. We are so accustomed by tradition to the jussive idea in thinking of these words ('let no one honor me,' etc.), that it is difficult to adjust ourselves to anything else; yet they are clearly susceptible



of a different explanation. While it may not be necessary to translate, 'no one *ought* to honor me, etc.' (the rendering deprecated by Bennett with a hint at its supposed absurdity — though it is difficult to perceive any serious objection to the word 'ought' here), it is also unnecessary to hold (with Bennett) that the only alternative is the one which Bennett himself insists on. To the writer of this paper, the traditional rendering, 'let no one honor me,' etc., seems to be less in keeping with the thought of the passage than the following: 'no one *need* honor me with tears, nor celebrate my obsequies with weeping,' *i.e.*, 'no one is obligated to do so,' 'there is no necessity that any one should.' The speaker waives all claim upon the affection of his friends, so far as that affection is usually manifested in honors paid to the dead. He is willing that they should be relieved of the customary burdens which attendance at his funeral would entail; but he is surely not ordering them to refrain from such demonstrations.

It would seem then that Professor Bennett is scarcely justified in representing as impossible Professor Elmer's interpretation of the two examples cited from the poet Ennius. Other examples presented by Elmer in support of his theory, and condemned in equally positive terms by Bennett, as incapable of bearing the meaning attached to them by Elmer, are discussed in the present paper — notably the following: Ter. *Andr.* 392, Plaut. *Capt.* 149, and Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 41. 98. But space will not permit a repetition here of the discussions referred to. The conclusion reached in this paper is that Bennett cannot be said to have proved (as he claims to have done) that Elmer's Theory of the Subjunctive of Obligation or Propriety is "without foundation in the syntactical phenomena of the Latin language." Nevertheless the writer has approached the subject with diffidence, in view of the experience and acuteness of the scholars whose work he has in part reviewed. Much has been said that is true by both parties to the controversy. Perhaps a high degree of probability is all that could be attained by either.

Remarks were made by Professor Bennett, and by Professor Ashmore in reply.

#### 4. Remains of Synapheia in Horace and Roman Tragedy, by Dr. Robert S. Radford, of Bryn Mawr College.

The synapheia of Seneca's anapaests has been discussed by B. Schmidt (*De emend. Senecae trag.*, 1860), and more recently by Richter and Leo. In Roman usage hiatus in a long vowel or M is justified first by strong punctuation. In the six undisputed tragedies three other licenses occur, viz., long hiatus without pause (1 % in 839 vv.), *syllaba anceps* with pause (3 %), and without pause ( $\frac{1}{2}$  %). In the *Octavia*, *syllaba anceps* without pause is proportionally ten times as frequent, in the juvenile or spurious works — *Agam.* and *Herc.* II. — five times as frequent. The other ratios do not greatly increase. As is well known, hiatus in M or in a short vowel without pause occurs only in the three last-mentioned plays (7 times). The conclusion is drawn with Schmidt that the composition of the anapaests is not stichic, but that in his mature works Seneca conformed to the norm of composition, at a time when the traditions of the anapaestic system were rapidly breaking up. Seneca retains in the anapaests his great technical mastery of verse



forms. The disuse of strophical responson and of the paroemiac close is now explained by Leo as corresponding to an actual development in later Greek chorus music (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1897, p. 509 ff.).

1. *Synapheia in early tragedy.*

How far were the three licenses observed in Seneca admitted in Roman anapaests from the first? For evidently the early cantica, composed in systems concluding with the paroemiac, correspond throughout to the strict anapaests of Greek tragedy. The fragments of Ennius (22 vv.) show one long hiatus with punctuation (fr. 85 R.), and one without: fr. 29 (R.) *Apollo | Arcum*. Pacuvius (22 vv.) shows one case of *syllaba anceps* with punctuation: fr. 264 (R.) *excrucior! | Operite*. Accius, however, follows a much stricter treatment; he admits neither hiatus nor *syllaba anceps*, but on the contrary elides a long vowel at the verse-close: fr. 569 (R.) *latratu | Unda*. Finally, Varius apparently allowed long hiatus without pause: fr. 5 (R.) *moduli* (cdd., *modi*) | *Ad quos*. Ribbeck seeks to remove the hiatus in an Augustan poet by marking a lacuna after *moduli*, but such a conjecture finds no support in the context. The anapaests of satire do not properly belong here, but Varro has one elision of a syllable in M (*S. M.*, p. 134, 9) and one long hiatus (p. 151, 1, where Riese emends in disregard of the regular caesura). The conclusion follows that the earlier poets, with the exception of Accius, commonly admitted certain Roman licenses in their anapaestic systems, notably long hiatus without pause, and *syllaba anceps* with pause. Only one of the licenses of Seneca remains unaccounted for, viz., *syllaba anceps* without pause, and this, as is well known, was once admitted by Catullus in his Glyconics (61, 223). In the more limited sense of elision or word-division, synapheia is, of course, wholly foreign to the anapaests of Seneca. Each verse is made complete in itself, and the placing of monosyllables at the close is studiously avoided.

2. *Synapheia in the Lesbian poets, in Horace and in Seneca.*

In the Sapphic strophe we may first consider the connection between the several lines observed by Sappho and Alcaeus. The view of Bock (*de metris Horatii lyr.*, p. 60 ff.) and of Gleditsch is that in the Lesbian poets only the third verse is connected with the Adonic clausula by synapheia. This view does not appear to include all the data; for while long hiatus occurs very freely in the first two verses (7 times in 82 vv.), a short vowel is nowhere placed in hiatus.<sup>1</sup> In fact, to reach his conclusion, Bock is compelled to set aside the received reading of Sappho, fr. 2, 9. Here, according to Bergk, the short vowel of δέ is elided between the first and second verses: *ἀγε, λέπτον δ' | αὐτίκα*. This elision cannot be explained as wholly similar to that often admitted by Sophocles at the close of the iambic trimeter, if Westphal (*Metr.* II. 2, p. 338 ff.) is correct in his view that this so-called episynaloiphe is first found in the Sophoclean dialogue. Other cases of elision in Sapph. fr. 28 (Alcaic); Alc. fr. 47 (dactylo-log.). Hiatus in a short vowel did not then occur in the Lesbian poets, but was freely admitted in a long vowel at the end of the first two lines. The close connection at the end of these lines is shown by the position of δέ (Sapph. 2, 13; 19, 1), and the third line is shown by the word-division to be continuous with the Adonic. The treatment of the Alcaic is much the same, except that long hiatus occurs but

<sup>1</sup> See Verrall, *Studies in Horace*, 178 ff.



once: Alc. fr. 35 (ii.). The elision of a short vowel at the end of the third line leads Bock to the view that the last two lines alone stand in synapheia. Sapph. fr. 28  $\delta\pi\pi\sigma\rho'$  |  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ . The two elisions in Horace also stand in the same position, yet this occurrence is probably largely accidental, and the connection between i. and ii. is as close as that between iii. and iv.

In the Sapphic strophe the rhythm proceeds without interruption from the beginning to the close of the stanza; one verse regularly concludes with the thesis, and the following begins with the arsis. This last relation is reversed in the Alcaic. The one blemish upon the continuity of the strophe is the long hiatus at the close, and this would doubtless have been removed by the Lesbian poets, had they been contemporaries rather than predecessors of Anacreon. Hence Catullus, with unerring insight into the true nature of the Greek Sapphic, applied to it, as is well known, the most thoroughgoing synapheia (cc. 11, 51). Horace's treatment of the strophe is perplexing (Christ, *Verskunst des Hor.*, p. 33 ff.). Long hiatus, the moderate use of which we have found characteristic of the Roman poets, is, of course, admitted (9 times in 615 vv.). The connection between the cola is commonly of the closest kind. No doubt, a close binding together of the lines is characteristic of all Horatian verse, and dissyllabic prepositions and conjunctions (*circum, intra, atque, etc.*) are as frequent a close for the hexameters as for the lyric metres of Horace. Yet monosyllabic prepositions are excluded from the close of the hexameter, while *et* and *ac* are sparingly used (*Sat.* I. 3, 13; *Ep.* II. 3, 270, etc.). The frequent placing of *in, et, and ac* at the verse-close indicates a closer connection in the Sapphic, and can only be paralleled from the anapaests of Accius, or the continuous cretics of comedy. The pause is evidently that of the caesura, as is shown by these monosyllables almost invariably following an elided vowel (II. 6, 1 *mecum et* | ). The connecting monosyllables are placed at the end of the several lines indifferently: II. 6, 1 (i.); ib. 2 (ii.); III. 8, 3 (iii.); ib. 25 (ii.); ib. 27 (iii.); II. 5 (i.); 27, 22 (ii.); ib. 29 (i.); ib. 46 (ii.); IV. 6, 11 (iii.). A short vowel is five times elided by synapheia, viz., twice a syllable in *m* at the end of v. ii., elsewhere the vowel of *que*.<sup>1</sup> Word-division occurs only at the end of v. iii. Yet while synapheia prevails in the Horatian strophe, it is at times disregarded in the first three books. Thus four cases occur of hiatus of a syllable in *m*, two of these at the close of v. iii., which is elsewhere treated as continuous with the Adonic. Clearly a different theory of the composition of the strophe is here present to the poet's mind. Seneca gives up the strophe and makes each verse an independent whole. Long hiatus is three times as frequent as in Horace (5 % in 494 vv.), and short hiatus twice as frequent (*Herc.* 870; *Med.* 586, 656; *Thyest.* 590, 613; *Herc.* II. 1531, 1553, 1571).

### 3. Quantity of the final syllable.

The quantity of the final syllable is not as indifferent in Horace as Diomedes (I. 518) would have us believe. If shorts predominate, the Asclepiad will really close with two dactyls (*Vict.* VI. 147). *Syllaba anceps* is excluded in the Ionicus and also in the Pherecratean (Kiessl., intr. xv.), which thus appears to be, as in Anacreon, a brachycatalectic tetrapody. Further, the predominance of the long close is in keeping with the dignified movement of the Horatian rhythms, and the spondee is scarcely more necessary in the first trochaic dipody than it is

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Waltz, *La langue et la métrique d'Horace*, 176 ff.



in the second. The Greek hexameter and pentameter in passing into Latin lower the proportion of final shorts; this is still more noticeably the case with the Horatian Sapphic. In Sappho the proportion of final shorts is 33 %; in Horace it is only 7.3 %, and just one-third of all the cases are occurrences of *que* and *atque*. There is no distinction in the treatment of the several lines: 12 (i.); 18 (ii.); 15 (iii.). The Glyconics show the same ratio (7.6). These results are gained by assuming that length is commonly made by position at the end of the line, as in the Pherecratean. Catullus and Statius show 17 %; Seneca, according to the same reckoning, 10 %. Even if the Sapphics of Seneca be taken as wholly stichic, he clearly seeks a long close for the line; thus, when in his hybrid metres he inverts the second colon of the Sapphic, the last foot is always a spondee (*Oed.* 482, 495; *Ag.* 635, 827, 833, 836, 860; so also in the Alcaic: *Oed.* 723; *Ag.* 632, 853). In the Alcaics (i.-iii.) Horace shows 10.6 % of short finals, again without distinction between the lines: 32 (i.), 35 (ii.), 34 (iii.). There is nearly the same ratio in the Asclepiadeans (11.4), which is almost doubled in Seneca.

Besides two occurrences of elision, the Alcaics of Horace often show *et* and *in* at the close of vv. i. and iii.: I. 9, 13 (i.); 35, 11 (iii.); ib. 39 (iii.); II. 7, 19 (iii.); 13, 23 (iii.); 15, 5 (i.); III. 1, 39 (iii.); 3, 71 (iii.); 4, 59 (iii.); 6, 3 (iii.); 26, 9 (i.); 29, 3 (iii.); 7 (iii.); 9 (i.); 49 (i.). In 951 vv. long hiatus occurs seventeen times, hiatus in a short syllable six times after all the lines alike, yet only in books I. and II.: I. 16, 27 (iii.); 17, 3 (i.); 31, 14 (ii.); II. 5, 9 (i.); 13, 7 (iii.); ib. 11 (iii.). In the lesser Asclepiadean strophes 509 vv. show long hiatus twelve times, short hiatus once only: I. 15, 2. A very unusual number of short finals occur in the early odes, I. 3, and 15. Close connection is seen in I. 21, 16; IV. 13, 6. In 164 Glyconic vv. long hiatus occurs twice, short hiatus once: III. 24, 61. Close connection is seen in I. 3, 19; 19, 13, and in the very unusual elision of IV. 1, 35 (final o). The Glyconics and Asclepiadeans of Seneca show no trace of synapheia, but freely admit short hiatus (nearly 5 %).

Horace has consciously, but not consistently, avoided hiatus in a short vowel. He has apparently at times subordinated synapheia to other metrical refinements more distinctly Roman, viz., the cola and caesurae prescribed by the metrical theories of the time. (*E.g.* | *generat leonum* | *arida nutrix.*) These theories are in reality at variance with the continuous Greek rhythm. In any case, the apparent negligence is not without extenuation. Every word or group of words is fitted into its place, the number of syllables from the caesura to the verse-end is constant, even the shorter lines are reduced to a few choice forms. Where these forms were successfully wrought out, synapheia — never perhaps fully naturalized at Rome — seemed to the Venusian poet of secondary importance.

On motion of Professor Seymour it was voted, in accordance with a communication presented by him from Professor Scripture of Yale University —

That a Committee of one be appointed to represent this Association in a joint committee for collecting and preserving records of speech, song, and similar material in various languages and dialects by means of speech recording and transcribing apparatus.

And, that power to act be given the committee with the understanding that no expense is to be incurred for this Association without express consent.



Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg was appointed to represent the Association.

5. The Athens of Aristophanes, by Professor Mitchell Carroll, of the Columbian University.

It was the object of the complete paper not to consider Aristophanes's contributions to our knowledge of Athenian topography but to note the nature and extent of his references to places and monuments on Attic soil, and to sketch the Aristophanic picture of Athens and Attika. In this brief abstract it will be impossible to cite the numerous passages from the extant plays and fragments on which every statement is based.

Attika is to Aristophanes the illustrious soil of the august Pallas, the much-loved country of Kekrops, abounding in temples and statues. About it are the islands, — Salamis, Aegina, Euboea, — to which frequent reference is made. It is a mountainous land, but only Parnes and Lykabettos figure in the plays. No mention is made of the rivers Ilissos and Kephessos, but the loud-mouthed Kleon is frequently compared with the torrent Kykloboros. Paralia and Diakria are recognized as divisions of Attika, and the most important places, as Sunion, Laureion, Marathon, and Phyle, figure in numerous passages. Of the demes, Acharnae has given its name to one of the comedies; others cited by name are Anagynos, Athmonia, Brauron, Kephalaie, Chollidae, Konthyle, Kikynna, Konthokidae, Krios, Kropidae, Halimos, Pergasae, Phlya, Skyras, Skambonidae, and Sphettos.

For Athens, Aristophanes has his favorite epithets, — 'ancient,' 'sacred,' 'wondrous,' 'brilliant,' 'violet-crowned,' — oftentimes repeated. He refers to many of the important demes within the city, — Diomeia, Melite, Kolonos, Limnae, and Kerameikos. Walls, gates, and streets figure in various passages. The harbors, the Pnyx, and the Agora, as the chief centres of Athenian life, play a prominent rôle in the comedies. To the Piraeus Aristophanes refers so frequently and so aptly as to give a vivid picture of its harbors, exchanges, stoae, and dockyards; Phaleron is noted only for its anchovies. The Pnyx is the subject of suggestive passages in the Acharnians, Knights, Wasps, Peace, Thesmophoriazusaie, and Ekklesiazusaie. The Agora constitutes the chief theatre of action for the Aristophanic characters, and figures prominently in all the plays. It is represented as the resort for loafing and gossip, for public and private business; it has its boundaries, its market clerks, its κύκλοι devoted to specific lines of business, which, with the various commodities, are frequently alluded to. Buildings and temples and statues, known from Pausanias and other sources to be within the limits of the Agora or in its neighborhood, play an important rôle, notably the Beuleuterion and the Prytaneion, the various Stoae, the Theseion, and the Eleusinion, the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, of Pandion, and of Hermes Agoraios. Schools, palaestrae, and gymnasia, especially the Academy and the Lyceum, are not left unnoticed.

The theatre of Dionysos, the Odeion of Perikles, and the precinct of Asklepios, are the subject of suggestive passages.

The action of the *Lysistrata* finds its scene on the Akropolis and presents a



vivid picture of the walled citadel, the Propylaea, the temple of the goddess with its treasure, the guardian serpent, and the grotto of Pan and the Klepsydra. Similar references to the Akropolis occur also in other plays, notably in the Knights and the Ploutos.

With allusions so numerous and suggestive to places and monuments, Arisphanes adds the breath of life to the narrative of Pausanias and makes the dry bones of topographical data become living realities to every student of Ancient Athens.

## 6. The Archaic Inscription in the Roman Forum, by Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.

This paper presented a brief *résumé* of some attempts to restore and interpret the archaic inscription in the Forum, particularly those of Enmann, Thurneysen, and Comparetti. A reproduction of the facsimile published by the latter, together with the different restorations, was placed in the hands of the members of the Association.

After a description of the method of writing and the possible reasons for variations in the order, the three interpretations just mentioned were discussed.

(1) ENMANN. — Quoi hon[*ke terminom exarased s*]akros esed, sor[*som popoloa veived, res famil*]iasias recei l[*icetod venom dare ad Deivam d*]evam quos r[*ex venom dare volt hos per suo*]m kalatorem hap[*etod (corr. habetod) et vinkitod, soi fugt*]od, iouxmenta kapia: do tau[*roi stati*]m i:ter[*am fodia: do, reom neka: tod keivio*]m quoi ha velod nequ[*e parikeidai esod vot*]od iovestod [s]oi voviod.

Qui hunc terminum exaraverit, sacer erit. Seorsum a populo vivet. Rem familiarem regi licito venum dare ad Diam Deam. Quos rex venum dare vult, hos per suum kalatorem habeto et vincito, si fugiunt. Iumenta capiantur, tauri statim in terram fodiantur. Reum necanto civium qui haec volunt neque parricidae erunt, voto iusto si vovent.

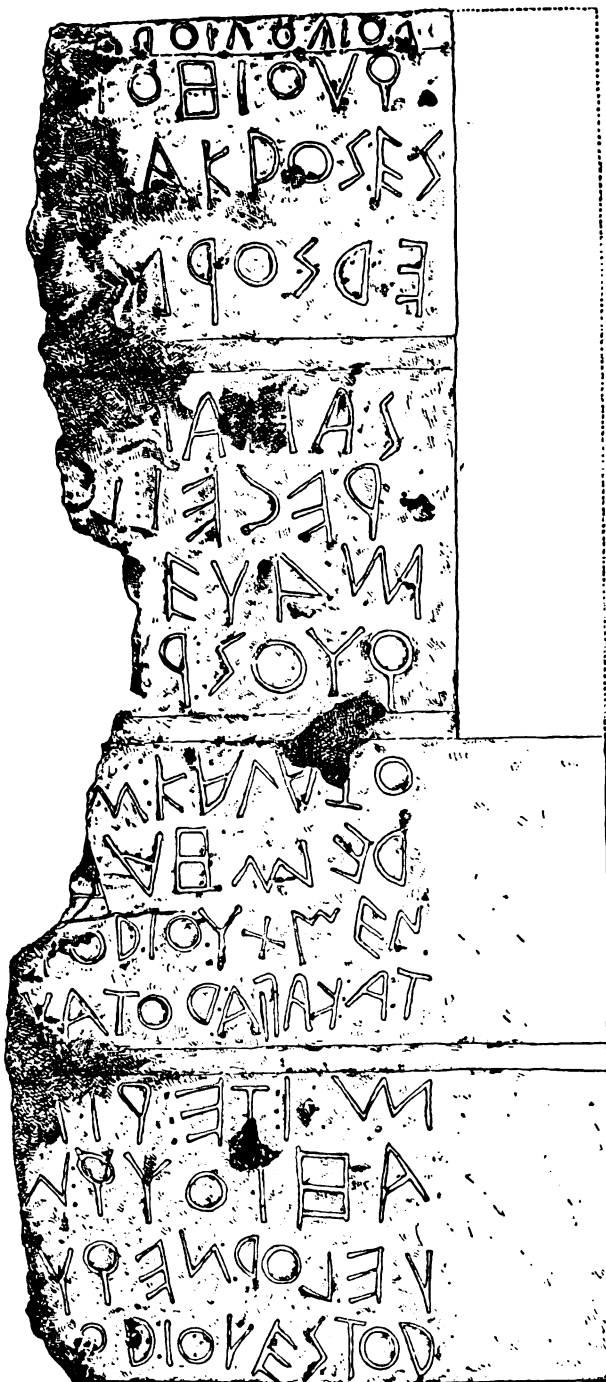
According to this interpretation, the inscription contains the curse pronounced upon a ploughman who disregards a terminal stone, and the punishment which is to be inflicted upon him.

The objections are briefly as follows: The restoration as a whole is too elaborate to commend itself; there can be no question of a boundary stone or of arable land at this point in the Comitium or Forum; *iumenta* can have nothing to do with a ploughman; *sorsum* (3) is impossible now that it is certain that the first four letters of that word are *sord*; there is no justification for the rendering of *fugiod*, *velod*, *voviod*, and *kapia*. *do*, by *fugiunt*, *volunt*, *vovent*, and *capiantur*; *in* for archaic *en*, and *soi* for *si* are improbable.

(2) THURNEYSEN. — Read lines on fourth side of the stone in reverse order, i.e., 15, 14, 13, 12. . . . odiouestod | velod : nequ . . . | . . . m : quoiha | m : ite : ri . . . iouestod = iusto, velod = voluntate or delectu.

Thurneysen's discussion is confined to the fourth side only of the stone, and is an attempt to eliminate the extraordinary word *havelod*, which is as plain as possible if the lines run in the regular order. Thurneysen, however, observing that with the ordinary reading, the first letter, M, of line 12 is the final of some word in the preceding line, regards this as impossible, and maintains that line 12







must be read from right to left. The stonecutter made a mistake and commenced this line at the lower instead of at the upper edge.

This inversion enables Thurneysen to read . . . *od iovestod velod*, and these two words he interprets as equivalent to *iusta voluntate* or *iusto delectu*, comparing Sanskrit *varas* and Ahd. *wela, wola*.

The objections are that the workman after having made one mistake in the order of words or letters, as in lines 8 and 9, would have been very careful not to make another; and in the second place nothing is gained by substituting one doubtful word, *velod*, for another, *havelod*. Furthermore, it is not absolutely sure that the M in line 12 is a final.

(3) COMPARETTI has finally determined the readings of the stone with all the certainty that is possible under the circumstances, and they are as follows, doubtful letters being printed in italics: —

quoi hon | akros es | edsord | ai fās | regei lo | mave | quos ri |  
m kalato | rem hab | iod iouxmen | ta kapiadota | m iter *per* | m quoi ha |  
velod nequo | od iou estod | loivioviod (or voivioviod)

Comparetti argues from the position of the cippus, on the steps, as it appears, of some tribunal-like structure which he thinks may have been the earliest Rostra, that the inscription has to do with violations of this consecrated spot, and interprets as follows: —

Quoi hon[*ce loqum sciens violasid*] sacros esed: sord[*eis quoi faxsid(?)*] . . .  
Fas regi lo[*cum lustrare uti*] mave[*lit iis diebus*] quos ri[*te nefastos edixerit per suu*]m calatorem hab[*endos*].  
. . . . iod iouxmenta (= iumenta) kapiad (= capistro) dota (= dotta, ducta)  
v[*ehantod . . . plostro*]m.  
Iter per [hunc locum ne]quoi havelod nequ[oi] . . . . . od [d]iou estod.  
Boivioviod (= bovivioviod) or loivioviod or voivioviod, (cf. *solitaurilium, suove-taurilium*).

There are two main divisions of the inscription, the first of which extending over the first two sides of the stone and the bevelled corner, has to do with the curse pronounced upon violators of this spot, and the permission accorded to the rex sacrorum to purify the place after any such violations, upon days which he has properly announced as *nefasti*.

The second part deals with the driving of horses or mules through this section of the Comitium, and the prohibition of passage to certain classes of persons. *Havelod* he thus regards as the same as *famulus*, a sort of servant.

As a result of Comparetti's careful study of the stone itself, we may admit as certain readings the words, *quoi* 1, *sakros esed* 2-3, *sordes* 3, *regei* 5, *kalatorem* and some form of *habeo* 9, *iouxmenta* 11, *iter* 12, *quoi* 13, *nequoi* 14, with a strong probability in favor of an accusative demonstrative pronoun *hon* or *honce* 1, some form of *capio*, very likely *capiat* 11, *iter* and *per* 12.

There is much that is purely conjectural in this interpretation, but it is on the whole the most sane and plausible as yet suggested. The following objections among others are to be noted: —

Line 4. If an F is read, it must be inverted. In support of this inversion,



however, line 6 may be cited, where one at least of the letters, in *mave* or *evam*, must be inverted.

Line 5. Against *locum* may be urged the fact that *stlocus* is the archaic form, of which spelling there is no trace in this inscription.

Line 6. If the regular boustrophedonic order is preserved, *evam* and not *mave* must be read.

Lines 10-11. The explanation of *capiad* as equivalent to *capistro*, and *dota* as equivalent to *dotta*, *ducta*, is entirely improbable, as no parallel changes can be quoted, and ordinary laws of derivation are violated.

Lines 13-14. *Havelod* is explained as the dative of *havelos* or *havelus*, which is referred to *famulus*, or better to *favea* (Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 790), on which word we find an old gloss, — *faveus*, *παις*. *Havelod* is equivalent then to *fave(l)lod*. Cf. *camillus*, *ancilla*. *Famulus* and its related words are derived from the Oscan, and the change from Oscan *m* to *v* is impossible. *Favea*, *faveus*, *favellus*, *havelus*, is perhaps easier, but the entire absence of evidence for any of these words except in the one case cited of *favea*, makes the explanation very improbable.

Line 15. . . . *od[d]iou estod* involves the doubling of the *d*, or else permitting the previous word to end in *o*. This latter alternative is unlikely, as the case is almost certainly the same as that of *havelod*. For the hypothesis of a doubled *d*, Comparetti cites line 11, *kapia[d] dota*, and considers the triple point as marking the doubled letter.

*Diou*, as the older form of *diu*, is opposed to the current view that *diu* represents an older form, *dius*.

Line 16. Comparetti himself is compelled to give up his earlier view that the word was *boviovium* and was formed after the analogy of *suovetaurilium*, by discovering that the first letter could not be a B, but must be either L or V. Hence his hypothesis that this word contained the name of the sacrifice which was to be offered as an atonement for violation of the sacred spot, is left unsupported, and there is the additional objection that there is no reason for supposing that the *l* inserted in the first V is a correction, and intended to show that the preceding *l* should be transferred to the place after the V.

The only words upon which practically all editors have agreed are the forms of the relative pronoun, *quoi* and *quos*, *sakros esed*, *regei*, *kalatorem*, and *iouxmenta*, although, in the case of two of these, opinions as to the real form are divided. *Esed* is variously interpreted as being equivalent to *essed*, *sit*, or *erit*, while *regei* may be either the dative of *rex* or the infinitive of *rego*.

While Comparetti has undoubtedly come closer to the real significance of the inscription, some details of his interpretation are quite unsatisfactory, and the unknown elements in the problem render any certain solution wholly unlikely.

Remarks were made by Dr. H. L. Wilson and Professor G. D. Chase.

## 7. The use of Sense-Epithets in Poetry, by Dr. Carl A. Harström, of Norwalk, Conn.

There is an awakening interest in the study of Mental Imagery. Charcot first called attention to the preponderance of certain sense-spheres. Jastrow, Dugas,



and others have approached the subject from the *experimental* side. Their work tends to establish the imagery of *reception* of ideas. Stetson, Price, McCrea, and Caldwell have approached it from another direction, seeking to establish, wholly or in part, the imagery of *expression* of ideas. Whatever be the advantages and limitations of each method in determining one's type of Mental Imagery, for our present purpose the laboratory method is necessarily eliminated; and the chief burden of this paper is to establish some general line of *Method of Study* by means of which we may obtain dependable results, — with particular reference to Latin Poetry. It is submitted, —

a. that an investigation which confines itself to the *positive* evidence is not adequate; that in order to draw correct inferences, the *negative* evidence must be considered; and

b. that even when all the statistics have been thus gathered, there can be no decisive judgment as to an author's preference for Sensuous Epithets over Non-Sensuous Epithets, or for epithets of *this* sense over *that*, — unless we in each case weigh all the reasonable *Choice Possibilities*.

The first of these propositions, we think, is self-evident. By negative evidence, however, we mean not those cases in which there is no adjective at all, but those in which there is an adjective that does not appeal directly to one of the five senses. Thus

*nigerrimae uvae* is positive evidence.

*maturae uvae* is negative evidence.

In collecting the statistics for the investigation upon which this paper is based, certain conclusions as to selection forced themselves upon us. While it is impossible to go into details here, let me say that as a general rule we should include only Single Concrete objects with adjectival modifiers, — using the latter term in its broadest sense; and that in all cases it is the *thought* which is to be treated, and not the mere verbal expression. On this basis many Metaphorical and Proverbial usages should be excluded.

Having then collected the material and having sifted it, we come to the second proposition, that there can be no decisive judgment, etc., unless we weigh all the reasonable choice possibilities, *i.e.* the next step of the investigation is to discover in how far there has been a *Real Choice*. To say that Horace in a certain passage uses three visual and one auditory adjectives may mean nothing or very little. The three visual adjectives may be commonplace and perfectly natural or necessitated by the exigencies of the passage, while the solitary auditory case may show a decided choice. In the case of a sensuous epithet, therefore, we must ask these questions: —

- 1) Could a non-sensuous epithet be used in place of the sensuous?
- 2) Could an adjective of another sense be used here just as well?

A few illustrations will suffice: —

In Cat. 17. 16, "ripe grapes" are expressed by a visual adjective, *nigerrimae uvae*. A non-sensuous adjective could have been used, as in Verg. *E.* 10. 36, *maturae uvae*. Horace again, in *O.* 2. 5. 10, appeals to the sense of touch, and uses the expression *immites uvae* when he means "unripe grapes." These cases clearly show a real choice. In Hor. *O.* 1. 10. 6, we have *curva lyra*, and in Verg. *G.* 4. 464, we have *cava testudo*, visual adjectives, where we would naturally



expect an auditory epithet, such as is found in Hor. *O.* 3. 11. 4, where we have *testudo resonare callida*. Again in Hor. *O.* 1. 32. 14, we have *grata testudo*; pleasing in what sense? Either auditory or visual, of course. In the last instance the use of *grata* is a clear case of abstract choice. So also the water of the sea may be salt as in Lucr. 3. 493; or it may be a vast expanse as in Verg. *A.* 2. 780; or we may hear its murmur as in Hor. *O.* 3. 27. 23.

In considering the freedom of adjectival choice no governing rules can be laid down with any degree of definiteness. Every case must be considered by itself, and the possibility of a choice must be obvious. No allowance should be made for the metre. While in a considerable number of cases metrical equivalents can readily be discovered, it is not to be imagined that a good poet speaks of the Alps as being cold because "White Alps" would not meet a metrical exigency. In most cases, however, where the choice is not free it will appear to have been influenced (1) by the object itself, one quality overshadowing all the rest,—thus fevers are hot and deer are timid; (2) by the drift of the passage, as in Cat. 61. 91, where the *visually* pretty girl is compared with the *visually* beautiful flowers; and (3) sometimes by the preceding sense-adjectives, the governing principle being variation.

In the case of a non-sensuous epithet we must see if a sensuous epithet could not have been used as well. Here it will be found that the sensuous possibilities are confined chiefly to such general abstract adjectives as *incundus*, *amoenus*, *blandus*, *gratus*, *horridus*, etc.

An investigation, along these lines, of considerable portions of Catullus, Vergil, and Horace produced the following results: Horace is sensuous 81%, not 54% as the simple count of the statistics would make it; Vergil is sensuous 78%, not 55%; Catullus is sensuous 71%, not 54%. This result, of course, could not be obtained at all without the negative evidence. The choice for the several senses in each author may best be shown by constructing

THE TABLE OF REAL CHOICE.

	V.	A.	G.	T.	O.
<i>Horace</i> . . .	71%	57%	77%	71%	56%
<i>Vergil</i> . . .	60%	67%	41%	62%	23%
<i>Catullus</i> . . .	54%	54%	—	53%	—

Compare this table with the next, which is based upon a mere count:—

THE TABLE OF APPARENT CHOICE.

	V.	A.	G.	T.	O.
<i>Horace</i> . . .	35%	5%	2%	11%	1%
<i>Vergil</i> . . .	34%	4½%	2%	13½%	1%
<i>Catullus</i> . . .	36%	5%	1%	10%	2%

While the results are partial, in our judgment they are typical, and justify the method. We can *see* the sky, but we cannot *hear* it. Is it reasonable, then, to charge our poets with neglect of auditory adjectives when no auditory adjectives are possible? And shouldn't we be doing just that if we merely counted our cases and deduced inferences therefrom?

Furthermore, for comparative study the method herewith proposed offers the additional advantage that the evidence can be "reduced to a common denomina-



tor"; and the *Satires* of Horace, *e.g.*, can be compared with the *Eclogues* of Vergil, without injustice to either poet.

Lack of space forbids a discussion of the comparison afforded by "Pictures." Suffice it to say that such a method of investigation must be unsatisfactory because the possibilities of comparison are necessarily limited, even when we are dealing with the same kinds of poetry,—and when we compare different kinds, the limitations become, of course, much greater. For the purpose, however, of testing the adjectival method proposed, I have made a comparison of the Pictures of like subjects in Horace and Catullus, and this Picture Investigation shows practically the same result as the Adjectival Investigation.

While not contending that the results given in this paper are *mathematically precise*, I do contend that statistics are an unsafe guide for the determination of a poet's choice of Sense-Epithets, and that the results obtained by the method advocated are infinitely more reliable.

Adjourned.

In accordance with the plan proposed by the Local Committee, a General Session of all the societies participating in the Congress was held in the College chapel on Thursday afternoon, December 27. At this gathering the Association was represented by President Benjamin I. Wheeler, of the University of California.

8. What is the Cause of Phonetic Uniformity? by President Benjamin I. Wheeler, of the University of California.

This paper appears in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*.

In the evening the various societies forming the Congress listened to an address by Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of the Johns Hopkins University, on Oscillations and Nutations of Philology.

#### MORNING SESSION.

December 28, 1901.

The Association was called to order at 9.55 A.M. The reading of papers was immediately begun.

9. The Simple for the Compound Verb in Juvenal, by Dr. Harry Langford Wilson, of the Johns Hopkins University.

This paper appears in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. XXXI.

10. Propertius as a Poet of Nature, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of Maine.

This paper has been prepared as a continuation of the subject discussed at the last meeting of the Association, — Tibullus as a Poet of Nature, — though it was a



foregone conclusion that Propertius would yield less material than his predecessor in the field of elegy. All the Roman poets are, indeed, lacking in enthusiasm over nature as such; and we realize how entirely absorbed Propertius in particular was in describing the taper fingers, fair skin, dark, flashing eyes, and magnificent approach of his Cynthia. But it seems, after all, incredible that a poet born and reared where he was, who spent so much of his early life amid the changing moods of the gray mountain side behind Assisi, the green plains to the west and south, the Umbrian lake beneath, and the more distant hills inclosing the scene, should not have made better use of them, even if for no other purpose than the glorification of his mistress. He does mention, it is true, the fertility of the Umbrian plain; and, while waxing a little important over his future celebrity as a poet, he hints at a few picturesque details near home, so that we can see the low valley in the plain of Mevania dripping with the morning fog, and get a glimpse of the hillside behind Assisi, rising like a wall toward heaven, shutting out the east to actual vision, and perhaps opening it to those vague and dreamy views of it which he sees only in his imagination. For his allusions to nature are mostly those of the Alexandrian poets' stock in trade. They read "like a book"; but Propertius knows nothing about the places and things, in the main, from his own experience. He talks of Chaonian doves and Armenian tigers, of Milanion wounded on the Arcadian cliffs, of scaling Rhipæan mountains, of Prometheus on the Caucasus and of the nymphs on the heights of Mount Ida, of the Autarican shores, of the liquor of Pactolus gilding the Lydian plains, of the gems gathered in the red waters of the far east, of Parthenian grottos, and of the forests that make old Caucasus groan with their weight. But we do not see the fair blue skies of Italy, the lazy kine browsing up the hillside on the ancestral estate, the birds nesting, the figs ripening, or the sunbeams sparkling on the ripples of Lake Trasimene. There is no truly pastoral note in his poetry, though he was the owner himself of a fine farm. Like Alexander Pope trying to write bucolics, whose farmers are all "swains," and whose verses are all "lays," Propertius cannot write about nature save in the same old stilted strain, which proves how devoid he is of interest in the whole subject. It is the truth that he tells in 2, 1, 43, when he exclaims: 'The sailor tells of the winds; the ploughman, of his bullocks; the soldier counts his scars; the shepherd, his sheep; but I, the close embraces of lovers.' To this text Propertius sticks quite closely.

Twice in his last book (Nos. 1 and 4), in describing Rome as it was in the days before the city was grown, Propertius almost challenges himself to give us a detailed picture of the rustic scenes of those prehistoric days, and we settle back with our eyes closed, expecting a bucolic panorama to pass before our imagination. But the inspiration fails him, and we wait in vain. Evander's roving cattle, father Jove hurling his thunderbolts from the bare rock, and the thicket of Silvanus, at the foot of the Capitoline, where Tarpeia went to draw water, — these are but as electric flashes where no adequate connection can be made with a steady and powerful current.

When we come to examine the classes of nature allusions which do occur, we find some of those in which even Tibullus delights conspicuous in Propertius only for their absence. The patter of the rain does not arouse any pleasurable emotion in his heart; night does not impress him deeply, except that he seems rather afraid of the dark; he has not studied the changing seasons intently, except that



he dreads for Cynthia the frosts and snows of colder climes, or wishes for an extended winter to prevent her from sailing away with the hated Praetor.

On the other hand, for a landsman, Propertius displays an extraordinary interest in the sea, and alludes to water phenomena, or to the shore, more often than to other phases of nature. Here all the resources of his vocabulary are called into play to vary the expressions and pictures summoned before the mind. The Adriatic 'sea,' trimming sail on the 'briny' Aegean, rowing over the 'deep,' the 'waves' buffeting his frail craft, coming to anchor on the placid 'surface' of the harbor of Oricum, and punishment in the unjust 'narrows,' have touched his fancy. He imagines many a shore he has never seen: the desolate coast of Crete and the 'Autarican' shore take their place with the Tuscan strand; and he mentions shores respectively, 'unknown,' 'calm,' 'merciful,' 'ungrateful,' and 'silent.' Sometimes a wild longing seizes him to sail over unknown waters; so, I, 1, 29; I, 20, 14; I, 20, 24. The Hypanis and the Pactolus share his attention with the Po, the Anio, and the Tiber.

In the realm of animal life birds interested him more than beasts. Doves, the fabulous seabirds nesting on the quiet surface of the water, and song birds, whose native notes are the sweetest, have their place. But there are also the conventional 'shaggy' wild beasts, and the poets' hypothetical commonplace about fishes living on the dry sands and wild boars swimming in the waves.

Under vegetable life we read of oaks, the beech and pine dear to Arcadian Pan, of ivy, roses, and lilies. Two or three times in this connection he dilates unusually upon a rural scene, as in I, 2, 9; I, 18, 1; I, 20, 35.

Of winds, the Zephyrus is evidently his favorite; but he knows how to dread the opposing blasts.

The mountains mentioned are mostly conventional, almost anywhere except near home. Arcadian cliffs, cold Illyria, the Caucasus, the crags of the Mysians, and the heights of Ida, pass before us in turn, all seen with a purely telescopic vision.

In the sky, Luna gets more attention than is probably safe for a poet; and the Gemini, of course, appear.

Of the substances of the earth, Propertius especially mentions precious materials. He conceives of 'shores painted with native stones' (I, 2, 13), of the pearls of India, of the gems found in the waters of the red sea, of gold, and of the stones of the Eastern world; there are also iron, bronze, and flint.

In his treatment of valleys he is inclined to employ the poetic word *antrum*. So, e.g., I, 1, 11; I, 2, 11; 4, 4, 3. In the case of one valley description his imagination is given freer play, and he paints an engaging picture (I, 20, 35):  
*quam supra nullae pendebant debita curae | roscida desertis poma sub arboribus, | et circum inrighuo surgebant lilia prato | candida purpureis mixta papaveribus.*

The quotation of further passages will be omitted. Propertius had two ideas,—Cynthia, and the fame of Propertius as the Roman successor of the Alexandrian Callimachus. Neither of these absorbing interests drew him down to nature's heart, and he hardly knew that it beat at all. His nature was mostly learned at second hand, and requires for its interpretation not a botany, an astronomy, or a physical geography, so much as a classical dictionary.



11. The Younger Ennius, by Dr. Henry A. Sanders, of the University of Michigan.

The distinction of the two Ennii is made by Suetonius, *de Gram.* 1, where L. Cotta is cited as authority for the statement that the grammatical works passing under the name of the poet Ennius, as well as the work on augury, were written by a later Ennius. This L. Cotta is best identified with L. Arunculeius Cotta, Caesar's officer in Gaul.

Inasmuch as we have this early authority for the same confusion in regard to the two Ennii, which is known to have existed in regard to the Fabii, Cincii, Furi, etc., we should investigate all the works ascribed to the poet Ennius also, in order to determine whether they are rightly so referred.

The investigation of the individual works shows that the authorship alone of the Euhemerus can be called in question. The various citations and fragments of this are then discussed, among others notably Cicero, *de nat. deo.* 1, 119; Varro, *r. r.* 1, 48; Lactantius, *div. inst.* 1, 11 ff. (Columella 9, 2, and Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 21, 1, are shown to be derived indirectly from the original Greek Euhemerus.)

A comparison of all fragments of, and references to, the Latin Euhemerus shows conclusively that they all refer to a prose version. Not only is this evident, but there is not the slightest suggestion that a poetic version ever existed. Neither is there any analogy in the earlier Latin literature for such a change, first, of Greek prose into Latin verse, and then of this verse to a prose version.

The idea of an original poetic version must be abandoned; but this carries with it the question of authorship, for it is not natural to suppose that the poet Ennius would have written in prose. Neither did the Romans know of any prose work from the hand of the poet Ennius, for they named Cato the father of Latin prose, though he wrote after the death of Ennius.

This view is shown to be the correct one by a discussion of the time when literary prose was first written in Latin, and by the improbability of the Atheistic doctrines of the Euhemerus being allowed to pass unnoticed by the senate, if published in the time of Cato. There is, then, no choice except to assign the translation of the *sacra historia* of Euhemerus to the younger Ennius.

On the basis of this translation and of the grammatical and augural works, the later Ennius can be assigned to the period from 140 to 100 B.C. The earlier date seems firmly fixed by the appearance of Euhemeristic teachings in the works of Cassius Hemina. Both style and vocabulary of the Euhemerus point to the same early date, while the grammatical and augural works are likely from their character to have been somewhat later.

The date and origin of the Tironian notes or Latin shorthand signs are also discussed, and the invention of the same referred to the younger Ennius, inasmuch as shorthand cannot naturally be referred to a poet and certainly not to a time before prose was commonly written.

Professor Smyth then called the attention of the Association to the desirability of its granting a subvention to the *Plato-Lexicon* now preparing under the editorship of Professor Campbell. After remarks by Professors Wright, Gudeman, and Goodell it was voted that the Association contribute £40 annually for three years.



A letter was then read from the Director of the U. S. Geological Survey requesting the Association to appoint a committee to take into consideration the formation of certain new scientific terms. It was voted to appoint a committee of five for the purpose. The President later appointed Professor Carl D. Buck (chairman), Dr. C. P. G. Scott, Professor E. W. Fay, Professor E. S. Sheldon, and Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann.

12. Further Contributions to the Lithuanian Accent Question, by Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, of the University of Chicago.

Four years ago I published in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. VII, 211, the results of some experimental investigations into the Lithuanian accent. It was shown there that certainly not the whole of Lithuanian speech exhibits the accent characteristics given by Hirt and Brugmann. That the peculiar two-moric long quantity, developed from short vowels under the accent, — which is then almost exclusively slurred, — should occur in the case of *a*, *e*, in the whole Lithuanian territory, and with all vowels in North Lithuanian, was experimentally disproven. The following conclusions were reached with regard to quantity: short vowels occupy one mora (0.135); accented short vowels, long, slurred, and broken vowels, two morae (0.225, 0.23, 0.225 resp.); slurred and broken diphthongs represent three morae (0.301 and 0.337 resp.).

These values apply only to the dialects investigated: Mariampol-Szaki in the Suwaki district.

I was under the impression that the two-moric quantity, stipulated by Baranowski and Weber, rested perhaps on a misleading acoustic apperception, a certain pitch or timbre only distinguishing these quantities from the three-moric long vowels and diphthongs. The same volume of the *Ind. Forsch.*, however, brought a treatise by Rozwadowski on the accent in the "Universitas linguarum Litvaniae." The author of this early work on the Lithuanian language (written in 1737) had recognized the different accents and the three quantities. After sifting the material, Rozwadowski arrives at the result that *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* are treated alike under the accent that produces a two-moric quantity, but that there is a tendency to prolong the *e* to the quantity of the three-moric slurred vowel. This is interesting in connection with the results obtained by our former experiments.

To this valuable testimony other evidence has since been added. Hirt, who had spent several months in that district, opened the discussion again in a paper read before the Dresden Philological Congress and in his "Akzentstudien" (*I.F. A.* IX. 173, and *I.F. X.* 38). It may be noticed here that Hirt accepts the main objections raised by Bezzenberger in his review of "Der Indogermanische Akzent" (*BB.* XXI.), viz. that Hirt's deductions can apply only to Eastlithuanian and not to the *Schriftsprache* of Kurschat.

Quite recently the question at issue has again been taken up by a French scholar, who had the apparatus of the phonetical laboratory of the Collège de France at his disposal, — Mons. Gauthiod. Gauthiod bases his experiments on the pronunciation of five Lithuanians, two of whom represent the Northeast, while



the others come from the neighborhood of Mariampol. The results of his studies are briefly these:—

(1) Intensity and height of tone decrease equally in the case of the broken accent.

(2) The slurred intonation of medial vowels has two crests of intensity and only one of pitch at the end.

(3) Initially the first crest disappears, the musical movement and the quantity remain the same. It thus becomes the exact reverse of the broken accent, simply rising or falling respectively in intensity as well as in pitch. Dialectically this difference between the initial and medial slurred intonation does not exist, which points to its secondary development.

(4) In final syllables the intonation remains the same, but the quantity is diminished.

With regard to quantity, the three values form the ratio 2:4:8. Although Gauthiod affirms that this is pretty constant, I cannot suppress my doubts as to the correctness of his calculations. There are no tracings of whole words given for illustration.

According to Leskien's law, long final syllables under the slurred accent are reduced to two morae; those with broken intonation are reduced to one mora. In none of the dialects, however, is this brought out by the experiments; the slurred and broken tone leave the vowel semi-long. The reason why the broken vowel appears short to the ear is the rapid decrescendo, in which only the initial apex is perceived,—an acoustical delusion that plays a part in the Lettic "Stosston," where the two strong apices cause the impression of an intervening complete occlusion, which *de facto* occurs only in the minority of cases.

I herewith submit an outline of the results of an experimental investigation based on Kurschat's *Schriftsprache*. The quality of the two accents is evidently the same as that described by me before and improved upon by the experiments of Gauthiod. The initial slurred vowel loses its first crest also in the *Schriftsprache*.

The broken accent is often characterized by an aspiration toward the end of the vowel or diphthong; it must be due to the low pitch which decreases the tension of the cords, and allows more air to escape through a larger opening. In this respect it resembles the third Lettic accent variety, the falling intonation.

With regard to originally short accented vowels, it may be stated that only *a* and *e* can take the slurred intonation, while *i* and *u* always remain short. Gauthiod's tracings show also a difference of treatment for the two vowel sets in Northeast Lithuanian; intensity and pitch of the slurred *u* and *i* are far less prominent, the reason being that they are close vowels and thus less susceptible to tone modulation.

Diphthongs show, under both accents, approximately the same distribution of quantity in the two component parts.

Short vowels have the quantity of one mora; all the others, including diphthongs and so-called medium long vowels, are about twice as long, or two-moric.

In paradigms with shifting accent, the quality of the root syllable remains the same when the accent advances toward the end of the word. As a rule, the non-accented syllable is slightly reduced in quantity, while the explosive opening the following accented syllable requires a longer closure.



Remarks were made by Professor Collitz, by the author, and Professor G. D. Chase.

13. Notes on Demosthenes, *de Corona*, by Professor John H. Wright, of Harvard University.

In § 2 ἀκροᾶσθαι, as against ἀκροάσασθαι, was defended on the strength (1) of the citation in Lucian, *Cal.* 8, (2) of the sense, and (3) of the rhythm. — § 130. Read ποεῖν (= ποῦσαν) for ποιεῖν, in Ἐμπουσαν . . . ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν. — § 190. Read ἦν μὲν οὖν . . . ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ τε (for γε) φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων. Cf. Dem. III. 3. — § 227. Perhaps we should here read ὥσπερ δ' ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῃ λογίζησθε, καθ' ἃν αἰρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι, κἂν μὴδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω κτέ. (for ἃν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι). — In 324 (ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις) προώλεις in the sense of 'utterly' (instead of 'untimely,' 'before their time') was defended by reference to the use of πανώλεις (cf. πρόρριζος) as a synonym (Westermann), and by the metaphor implicit in the expression = 'rooted out and thrown forth' (cf. 'far and away'). — The highly elaborate rhythmical character of the cola in §§ 68 and 205 was discussed, and in § 205 the retention of τοῦ θανάτου was defended, as also the reading μένει . . . ἀποθνήσκειν θέλει, instead of μινεῖ and ἀποθνήσκειν ἐβελήσει. — Finally, Demosthenes's use of alliteration and assonance, often with a play on the sense of words, in ironical or highly emotional passages, was illustrated (cf. §§ 11, 284, 238, etc.). In § 308, in καὶ κοινὴν ἀσχύνην, a play on the name of Aeschines seems intended; and in § 180, in οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος, there is a passionate echo of Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρίοντα.

On motion of the Secretary it was voted to send a telegram of greeting to the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast then in session at San Francisco.

President B. I. Wheeler, of the University of California, President of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, expressed his appreciation of the mark of sympathy extended by the Association to its Western branch, and reported upon the promising future of the new organization.

14. A preliminary Study of certain Manuscripts of Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars, by Professor Clement L. Smith, of Harvard University.

The manuscripts discussed in this paper, thirty-six in number, were examined by the writer during his residence in Rome in 1897-1898 as Director of the American School, and in the course of a journey from Italy to England in the following summer. Most of them were excerpted with more or less fulness; and other evidence throwing light on their relation to one another, including the division into books and into chapters, and the manner of transcribing Greek passages, was noted. The conclusions reached are as follows: —



With Codex *A* (Parisinus 6115, IX. cent., commonly known as Codex Memmianus), the oldest extant manuscript of the *Lives* are to be classed:—

Cod. Gudianus, 268, XI. cent. (*G*<sup>2</sup>);<sup>1</sup>

Cod. Monacensis Lat. 5977, XV. cent. (*Mon*);

Cod. Vaticanus Lat. 1904, XI.–XII. cent. (*V*<sup>4</sup>), known as 'Vaticanus Lipsii';

Cod. Mediceus LXVIII. 7, XI. cent. (*M*<sup>3</sup>), the 'Third Medicean';

Cod. Mediceus LXVI. 39, XIII. cent. (*M*<sup>1</sup>), the 'First Medicean';

Cod. Lat. Reg. Suec. 833, XIV.–XV. cent. (*R*<sup>1</sup>), in the Vatican.

Of these *G*<sup>2</sup> and *Mon* are very closely related to one another. *Mon*, though a paper codex of late date, appears to have been copied directly from an uncial text, perhaps from the immediate archetype of *G*<sup>2</sup>. These two manuscripts stand nearer than the rest of the class to Codex *A*, and these three may be distinguished as a group within the class. Another group may be recognized in *M*<sup>2</sup>, *M*<sup>1</sup>, *R*<sup>1</sup>, which exhibit a distinctly closer relation to one another than to the rest. Between these two groups stands *V*<sup>4</sup>, nearer to the second group, but apparently not of it.

In a second class, inferior to the first, but not infrequently preserving the genuine tradition where some or all of the manuscripts of the first class have lost it, are to be placed the following twenty-one codices:—

Codd. Vaticani Lat. 1860 (*V*<sup>0</sup>), 1908, and 7310 (*V*<sup>1</sup>), XIV. cent.;

Codd. Vaticani Lat. 1906, 1907 (*V*<sup>7</sup>), 1910, 1915, 3335, and 3336 (*V*<sup>80</sup>), XV. cent.;

Codd. Ottoboniani Lat. 1562 (*O*<sup>1</sup>) and 2008 (*O*<sup>2</sup>), XV. cent.;

Cod. Urbinas Lat. 457 (*U*<sup>1</sup>), XV. cent.;

Cod. Lat. Reg. Suec. 1990 (*R*<sup>2</sup>), XV. cent.;

Cod. Mediceus LXIV. 8, XIII. cent. (*M*<sup>2</sup>), the 'Second Medicean';

Cod. Bibl. S. Crucis XX sin. 3, XIII. cent. (*M*<sup>4</sup>);

Cod. Mediceus LXIV. 9, XIV. cent. (*M*<sup>5</sup>);

Cod. Perizonianus 4 (in Leyden);

Codd. Britannici: 15. C. III, XII. cent. (*B*<sup>1</sup>); 15. C. IV, XIII. cent. (*B*<sup>2</sup>);

Lat. Cl. 31914, XV. cent. (*B*<sup>3</sup>); and Lat. Cl. 24913, XV. cent. (*B*<sup>5</sup>).

Within this class, also, as in the first, two groups can be clearly distinguished. The nucleus of one group is formed by five manuscripts, *V*<sup>0</sup>, *V*<sup>1</sup>, *M*<sup>2</sup>, *M*<sup>4</sup>, *M*<sup>5</sup>, which are shown to have a common source by certain disturbances of the text, — the omission in *V*<sup>0</sup> *V*<sup>1</sup> of about a page of the *Vespasian*, and a transposition, shared by all five, of two considerable passages of the *Galba*. To this group also belong *B*<sup>1</sup> and *B*<sup>3</sup>. The other group centres round *V*<sup>33</sup> *U*<sup>0</sup> *O*<sup>2</sup>, and certainly includes *V*<sup>7</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> and *B*<sup>2</sup>. The nearer affinities of the remaining seven manuscripts of the second class cannot be determined on the present evidence.

On the border line between the two classes appear to stand Codd. Vaticani Lat. 1905, 1913, 1914, and probably 9338, all of the fifteenth century, though the evidence for the last named, partly owing to its defective condition, is scanty.

The rest of the manuscripts examined,—

Cod. Palatinus Lat. 898, XIV. cent.;

Codd. Veneti: Lat. X. 30, 31, and 345, and Lat. Zanetti 382, XV. cent.;

Cod. Britan. Lat. Cl. 12009, XV. cent.,—

<sup>1</sup> Codd. *A* and *G*<sup>2</sup> were not examined by the writer. For readings from the former he is indebted to Professor A. A. Howard; from the latter, to Becker's *Quaestiones Suetoniana*.



probably all belong to the second class, but the excerpts gathered from them were not sufficiently full to base a positive statement upon.

In conclusion the writer gives a list of thirty-five manuscript readings, adopted, with two exceptions, by Roth, but known to him only from early editions or as conjectures, and adduces reasons for believing that these and other good readings of fifteenth century codices are derived from genuine manuscript tradition, and are not, as Roth held, mere conjectures of scholars of the Renaissance.

The paper will be published in full in the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* for 1901.

15. The Salian Hymn, by Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

This paper is printed in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. XXXI.

16. *Miscellanea Critica* (Aesch. *Prom.* 2, Soph. *O.T.* 54 sq., Eur. *Med.* 214-224, Eur. *Hipp.* 1-2, Porson's Enunciation of 'Porson's Rule'), by Professor Mortimer Lamson Earle, of Barnard College, Columbia University.

It was queried whether in Aesch. *Prom.* 2 the variant reading <sup>δατον</sup> ~~δρπον~~ might not, in view of Soph. *Phil.* 2 (cf. *Ant.* 772), be as old as Sophocles's time. — In Soph. *O.T.* 54 sq., the two divisions into protasis and apodosis of the sentence *εἴπερ — κρατεῖν* were discussed, that which makes the apodosis begin with *ἐν ἀνδράσιν* (the prevailing division in modern commentaries) and that which makes the apodosis begin with *κάλλιον*. For the latter division Wunder seems to be primarily responsible. In favor of this latter division, it was urged that it brings together *ὥσπερ κρατεῖς* and *ἐν ἀνδράσιν*, which belong together; against it was urged that, like the other division, it makes *κρατεῖν* resume the notion of *ἀρξεις* when that notion has already been once resumed by *κρατεῖς*. It was suggested that the right division is after *γῆς*, and that we should point and interpret thus: —

*ὥς εἴπερ ἀρξεις τῇσδε γῆς, ὥσπερ κρατεῖς —  
ἐν ἀνδράσιν — κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς κρατεῖν.*

'For if you really mean to remain lord of this land, the way you do rule it — with men — is better than to rule it empty.' With this division of the sentence *κρατεῖν* at the end of v. 55 is perfectly natural. — In the discussion of Eur. *Med.* 214-224, an attempt was made to show that Ennius, in making the remarkable translation of vv. 214-218 which we find in Cic. *ad. fam.* 7, 6, had before him the traditional text, save perhaps that for *δύσκληαν* in v. 218 he read (what Prinz extracted from the Scholia) *δύσσοιαν*. In v. 215 Elmsley showed that Ennius probably read *μέμψησθ* (so L). An English version of the verses in question from Ennius's point of view was essayed, thus: 'Corinthian ladies, I left home. Don't find any fault with me; for I know that many people have, some of them become distinguished abroad, others of them at home — these from not going about have won infamy [assuming for the moment that Ennius read *δύσκληαν*] and sloth to boot.'



Ennius would thus have made a heavy pause after *δόμων* (214), have taken *πολλοὺς βροτῶν* as distributed in *τοὺς μὲν—τοὺς δ'*, have regarded *τοὺς μὲν* as placed *ὑπερβατὸν* after *σεμνοὺς γεγῶτας* instead of logically (from his point of view) before those words, have taken *ΟΙΔ* in v. 217 as = *οἶδ'* (an anacoluthic resumption of *τοὺς δ'* at the head of the vs.), and, finally, have thought that *ἀφ' ἡσύχου ποδὸς* resumed adverbially the adjectival *ἐν θυραλοῖς* (note his *propter ea*). It may be added that *sunt improbatī* is a fitter rendering of *δύσνοϊαν ἐκτῆσαντο* (as Ennius misunderstood the idiom) than of *δύσκειαν ἐκτῆσαντο*. It was further urged that vv. 219–221 are misplaced, Wytttenbach's objection to γάρ where it stands being well taken. It was proposed to place these verses after v. 224. — In Eur. *Iipp.* 1–2, the harsh order of the words has led many to misunderstand them, M. Weil and Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff being honorable exceptions. The verses are of course to be understood as equivalent to: Πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσιν οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω κέκλημαι θεὰ Κύπρις (πολλὴ κέκλημαι = μέγα ἔχω τὸ δοῖμα) κοῦκ ἀνώνυμός (εἰμι).

In regard to Porson's famous rule about the fifth foot in a tragic trimeter ending in a cretic word, which is wrong as it stands, it was suggested that Porson probably drafted the rule so that it ended *quintus pes non spondeus esse deberet*, but thinking it directer to use an affirmative rather than a negative turn of expression, carelessly substituted for *non spondeus* the expression for what is normally allowable in the first five places of the trimeter, viz. *iambus vel tribrachys*, forgetting that the final \_ \_ made "*vel tribrachys*" an impossible addition.

Adjourned.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

In conjunction with the Archaeological Institute, the Association held a joint meeting, at which the following papers were presented by the representatives of the Association.

17. Sun Myths in Lithuanian Folksong, by Professor George D. Chase, of Cornell University.

This paper appears in the *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. XXXI.

18. Note on τὰ δοχαϊότερα Διονύσια, by Professor Edward Capps, of the University of Chicago. (Read by title.)

The writer called attention to a current misunderstanding of the word *δοχαϊότερα* in the much-discussed passage, Thuc. 2, 15. The comparative is held by Dörpfeld and others to indicate that the historian knew of only two Dionysia; the Lenaea and the Anthesteria were therefore identical. The opponents of this view have committed the same error of interpreting *δοχαϊότερα* as if it were *παλαιότερα*. It was shown that the two words *δοχαῖος* and *παλαιός* are strictly differentiated in usage, and that the passage, rightly interpreted, absolutely excludes Gilbert's view, adopted by Dörpfeld, as to the festivals of Dionysus, and fully sustains the position of Böckh.



19. The Visits of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides at the Court of Hiero, by Professor Harold N. Fowler, of the College for Women of Western Reserve University.

Examination of the available evidence makes it probable that Simonides went to Sicily in 476-5, and remained there until his death in 467. Probably neither Pindar nor Bacchylides went to Sicily in 476, nor is there any real evidence that the three poets were together at Hiero's court. In view of the relative ease of travel by sea in the fifth century, and of the fact that the poet's profession made his presence at public occasions in various places desirable, it is probable that Pindar and Bacchylides visited Hiero's court more than once, but there is no evidence that either was there for any long period.

20. Aristotle's Theory of Imagination, by Professor William A. Hammond, of Cornell University.

The views of Aristotle regarding the nature of imagination are found mainly in the *De anima* and in the series of eight opuscles, known in the Aristotelian corpus as the *Parva Naturalia*.

The processes of knowing are marked off by Aristotle into three distinct stages: (1) The simplest form of knowing is sensation (*αἰσθησις*). (2) The second stage is imagination (*φαντασία*). (3) The final stage is rational thought (*νοῦς, ἐπιστήμη*). The imagination mediates between sensation and thought. Sensation furnishes to the mind a body of impressions and copies of the external world, which imagination and thought employ. Imagination is a storehouse, as it were, of copies of sense-objects, which persist in the mind as images after the sensed-object has been removed. It is a collection of residual sensations, capable of being revived into consciousness. Without it memory would be impossible, and the mind merely the scene of ever-shifting kaleidoscopic sense-impressions. The term *φαντασία* is used by Aristotle to mean both the faculty and the product of imagination; the latter, however, is ordinarily called by him phantasm (*φάντασμα*). There are three more or less distinct senses in which Aristotle employs the word *φαντασία* or *φάντασμα*: (1) Appearance, phenomenon (*De mundo* 395 a 29; *De sensu* 439 b 6; *De coelo* 294 a 7, 297 b 31). (2) Phantasm, or false appearance (*Soph. elench.* 165 b 25, 168 b 19; *De insom.* 460 b 20; *De mir. ausc.* 846 a 37). (3) In the psychological meaning of an internal picture of an absent sense-object, — not merely the picture itself but the faculty that produces it (*De an.* 425 b 25, 429 a 1; *Metaph.* 980 b 26). The term "phantasy" is akin to *φῶς* 'light' (*De an.* 429 a 3), and *φαντάζειν* 'to appear'; and there is in the word an implied distinction between the phantasm and the real. It is appearance *versus* reality (*Soph. elench.* 164 a 9 ff., *Eth. nic.* 1114 a 32). Yet while the image is not the real thing, but only the real thing's form, it may be a true copy of the real, and, as such, as true as sensation. The two prominent elements expressed in the word, looked at etymologically, are that of form and light, without which the sensible is only meagrely revealed to us. Analogically to the presentation of the world as form and light to the senses (the eye being the most important sense-organ), so phantasy reveals to our consciousness an inner world as a world of forms, color, perspective, and light, — an inner world corresponding in its imagery to the world of lighted space.



The psycho-physiological process by which imagination is awakened is conceived of by Aristotle as follows: Sensation is due to a movement set up in the sense-organ by a present stimulus. This movement has the power to persist or to continue after the stimulus has gone (*De insom.* 459 b 7 ff.). Just as one throws a pebble into the water, and it sets a circle in motion, which communicates its motion to a second circle after the pebble has disappeared (459 a 28 ff.), so the energy in a sense-organ communicated by a sense-stimulus is in turn communicated to the blood (*De insom.* 461 a 25-b 18), and by the blood is transmitted under favorable circumstances to the heart, which Aristotle regards as the organ of imagination and of all the higher functions of consciousness. The image in the heart is the phantasm, and the movement there is fainter than in the original sensation, so that Aristotle describes the phantasm as a "weak sensation" (*φαντασία ἐστὶν αἰσθησις τις δασυτέρη*, *Rhet.* 1370 a 28). These movements are especially characteristic of sleep, for the sense-activity is then suppressed (*De insom.* 461 b 12; *De divin.* 464 b 5). Imagination has two forms: (1) That of revived or residual sense-perceptions; *i.e.* copies or images of the sensible world, in which imagination is receptive or reproductive; (2) that of reconstructions or created images, in which the imagination is active or productive. The one form of imagination is called by Aristotle *φαντασία αἰσθητική* (reproductive imagination), and the other, *φαντασία λογιστική* or *βουλευτική* (*De an.* 433 b 29, 434 a 7), or productive imagination. The latter belongs to man only; the former belongs also to the brute creation. The latter kind of imagination is due to a free, initiative power in the central organ (the heart), which may take the form of logical construction of the elements of sense-imagery into a coherent complex, such as is exhibited in a creation of literary or plastic art, or it may take the form of arbitrary, incoherent, confused image-masses, as exhibited in sleep, in the delirium of fever, and in the excitement of vehement desire or violent passion. Such distortions and malformations, corresponding to no real things, are due mainly to physiological causes, especially to excessive heat and disordered movements of the blood. They occur mostly in sleep, because the activities of thought and sensation, which act as regulators of imagination by day, are suppressed in sleep, and imagination has undisputed control of the central organ. These phantasms, uncontrolled by waking consciousness, resemble the imagery of clouds, which at one moment represent a centaur, at another a man, and are constantly shifting in their forms (*De insom.* 461 b 20). Imagination, then, is for Aristotle both an image-receiving and an image-producing power. As an image-receiving or image-holding power, it is the source of memory or recollection. A memory or memory-image differs from a phantasm in two particulars: (1) Memory regards the phantasm as a copy of something, while imagination regards it simply as a picture. (2) Memory regards the thing of which the phantasm is a copy, as having already been seen or known by us (*De mem.* 451 a 14). The deliberate and conscious calling up of this copy is recollection (*ἀνάμνησις*). One of the highest and most important functions of imagination is to supply the schematic form in which the activity of conceptual thought is clothed. For the schemata of general notions the reason needs general images, and these are supplied to *νοῦς* by the productive imagination. Thought is not possible without an image (*De an.* 403 a 9, 427 b 16, 431 a 17 ff., 432 a 8; *De mem.* 449 b 30). The relation of *φαντασία* to art finds no explicit treatment in Aristotle's writings.



## MORNING SESSION.

December 29, 1900.

The Association assembled at 10 A.M.

## 21. Notes on Indo-Iranian Phonology, by Dr. Louis H. Gray, of Princeton University.

This paper will appear in full as the preface of the writer's *Indo-Iranian Phonology, with Special Reference to the Middle and New Indo-Iranian Languages* (Vol. II. of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian series, edited by A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University).

The right to compare the phonology of the Old Indo-Iranian languages is undisputed. Whether one may trace phonological parallels in the subsequent development of these two groups of dialects is a question concerning which there is considerable diversity of opinion. The problem is an important one to students of the Indo-Iranian languages and to Indo-Germanic scholars as well. The similar developments here considered are very numerous, and they can be explained only by the hypothesis, in itself a very natural one, that languages derived from a common source, as is the case with the Indo-Iranian dialects, pursue similar courses of phonetic modification. Students of other branches of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, or of the groups as a whole, may find parallels in phonology among the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, to serve as illustrations for them or to suggest new theories. In this way the loss of  $\gamma$  in certain Greek dialects and of  $g$  in French after it had suffered spirantization receives a parallel both in the New Indian and in the New Iranian dialects. Thus Boeot.  $\iota\omega\nu$  = Att.  $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$  ( $\nu$ ), Arkad.  $\Phi\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$  = Att.  $\Phi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , Tarent.  $\delta\lambda\iota\sigma$  = Att.  $\delta\lambda\iota\gamma\sigma$ , etc. (Brugmann, *Grundr.* i.<sup>2</sup> 654, Meyer, *Griech. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup> p. 294), or Lat. *regīna*<sup>m</sup>, Old French *reīne*, Lat. *frigidu*<sup>m</sup>, Vulgar Lat. *\*fregidu*, Old French *freit*, *froit*, etc. (Schwan, *Gramm. des Altfranz.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 69-70), have analogues in Skt. *ṣṛgāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Ur., Bihārī *siāl*, *ṣiāl*, Bangālī *siāl*, Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold, Prāk. *duuṇa*, Hindī, Panjābī *dūnā*, Sindhī *dūnā*, Marāṭhī *dūṇ* or Av. *zi* 'what' + *gaona* 'kind,' Pahlavī *zigūn* (*ih*), New Persian *zūn* beside *zigūn* (*ah*). The Middle and New Indian dialects show a similarity in many respects in their phonological development with the Romance languages, and these analogues have been collected by Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869, and by Brandreth, "The Gaurian compared with the Romance Languages," *JRAS.* N. S. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364; cf. also his *Paragone delle lingue Gauriane con le Romanze o Romane*, Atti del iv. cong. Internat. d. Orient., ii. 75-80.

The first attempt to compare any of the New Indian dialects with any of the New Iranian ones was made by Reland in his twentieth dissertation, which is entitled *De linguis insularum orientalium* (Diss. Miscell., Traj. ad Rhen. 1708, iii. p. 86). His words are as follows (cf. also Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 241): "Nonnullae voces [linguae Singalae] cum Persicis conveniunt, ut *aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp.* *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز *Raz*, راز *Chaldais*, arcanum, *Bandinjai*, ligo, باند *Band.* *Dewijan*, Deus, Pers. دیو *Div*, Genius." Exactly a century later "en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte pracrit, parallèle



au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur sauraseni. En 1819 Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse" (Darmsteter, *Le Zend-Avesta trad.* i., Introd. p. xxi). Of real scientific value is the brief note of Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* i. b, p. 35, cf. 15-16, Geiger, *ibid.* p. 208, in which he claims the right to compare sound-changes in the Middle and New Persian with analogous developments in Prākṛit. This view of Horn's has been criticised unfavorably by Hübschmann, *IF. Anz.* x. pp. 23-24. Despite the weighty authority of Hübschmann, the present writer is inclined to agree emphatically with Horn, and in his view it is scientifically correct to trace and to present as parallel analogous phonological developments in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In a paper on "Certain Parallel Developments in Pāli and New Persian Phonology," *JAO.S.* XX. pp. 229-243, the writer outlined the method which he has since pursued in the consideration of more than thirty Indo-Iranian dialects. If he agreed with Horn before the writing of his study on the Pāli and New Persian, which he then intended as the prolegomena of his more complete monograph which is now in press, further investigation, carried out for all the chief Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages on the basis of the best works on them yet written, has but confirmed him in his old opinion.

The modern Iranian dialects are as truly cognate with the modern Indian dialects as is the Slavic group with the Italic, or the Keltic with the Hellenic, and a comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects has the same scientific justification as that which comparative phonology of the Indo-Germanic languages possesses. The monograph on the subject under consideration is one of presentation rather than of discussion, but from its arrangement of material in ordered form conclusions may be drawn, even though they may not be stated in categorical terms.

Beside the parallel phonetic developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, to which the present study must be confined, there is another very fruitful field, for numerous parallels in inflection and in syntax exist between these two groups of languages, as Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* i. b, pp. 205, 213, 238, 245-246; 216, *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 1-5, has rightly observed. In both these respects, however, the two dialect groups have gone in ways more widely divergent than in their phonology.

For the present a study of the phonological parallels of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects must suffice, and the contribution is made in the hope that it may aid, not alone the study of the Indo-Iranian languages, but the broader subject of Indo-Germanic linguistics as well.

## 22. The Ablative Absolute in Livy, by Professor R. B. Steele, of Illinois Wesleyan University (read by Professor Knapp).

The number of occurrences of the ablative absolute in Livy cannot be definitely determined, for in some passages interpretation varies between the dative and the ablative, and in others between the absolute and the modal ablative of the gerund or gerundive. However, the number does not vary far from 6500, counting as one two subjects with a single participle or one subject with two



participles. In the following presentation the rhetorical phases of Livy's usage will be chiefly emphasized.

If we accept the extremes of interpretation, both the active and the passive of the three participles are used in the ablative absolute by Livy. But the few examples given of the future passive do not differ from those which are classed as present passive, and these in turn may be taken as a free use of the modal ablative of the gerund or gerundive, so that by interpretation these two passives may be eliminated.

The ablative absolute of the future participle is an innovation such as we should expect to find in the Histories of Sallust if they had come down to us entire, but our earliest examples are from Livy, from Asinius Pollio, in a quotation by Seneca Rhet., and from Pompeius Trogus, if we assume that an instance in Justinus 1, 2, 1 is not due to Justinus himself. In Livy all but one of the seven examples are in the later decades and two are used in connection with another ablative absolute.

The perfect actives are represented by the intransitive deponents (*orto* forty-one times, the most common) and by transitives with a dependent construction, both of which are somewhat freely used, though not so freely as the transitives without object and the passive absolute of other deponents.

Looked at from the tense side, about 75 per cent are in the perfect tense, 17 per cent are present, and the remainder are divided between adjectives and nouns.

*Succession of Ablatives Absolute.* — Not uncommon is the occurrence of two or three ablatives absolute, but more than three are met with in but few instances. Though the form of statement might have been varied by the introduction of a dependent clause instead of one of the absolutes, yet the succession furnished a symmetrical participial, generally aoristic, approach to the main statement, and if such a succession is to be criticised, it is at the points where an effort is made to obtain variety by the introduction of a present passive (or modal ablative) between two other absolutes, and even this is not more violent than other variations in rhetorical presentation by Livy.

In more than a score of instances an ablative absolute is worked into one or both members of the formula *non modo . . . sed etiam*, but much more frequent are the passages in which the names of opposing parties are used with one or with two participles, and where the parts of the statement, like the parties themselves, are arrayed against each other. Frequently pronouns are used instead of the names of the parties, or the antithetic statements are headed by correlative or adversative particles. While this results in a symmetrical rhetorical statement, on the other hand passages are not uncommon in which there is a change in the form of statement where a succession of absolutes might have been expected, as when an absolute is matched with another ablative, or when another case of the participle is used instead of the ablative. In the succession, the ablatives, however, are usually coördinate, and only rarely is one subordinated to another.

*Subject.* — The subject of the main verb is placed between the parts of the ablative absolute in less than a score of passages, and this is relatively less frequent than the same position in Caesar. In the same way, in a few instances, it is placed between two absolutes, though it may not stand in the same grammatical attitude toward both, and the absolute itself may be arranged between two clauses



to which it stands in the same relation. The number of instances in which the subject of the participle is referred to by a following demonstrative or personal pronoun in the main statement shows that there was no settled opposition on the part of Livy to this form of expression.

*Agreement.* — A participle in the singular number, with two subjects in the singular, is not uncommon when the nouns are differentiated expressions for a single term or when they are very closely related, and this is also true of a few subjects connected by *et . . . et*. When the subject contains a singular and a plural, the participle is sometimes in the singular, agreeing with the noun next to it.

With both perfect and present participles the subject of the absolute must at times be supplied from a following relative clause, which is in reality the subject of the participle. This is most common with *missis* and its compounds when the relative is personal, and with *auditis* when the relative is neuter. Now and then the subject must be supplied from the context. This is most frequent with present participles, though the construction may sometimes be taken as dative or ablative according to the interpretative angle at which it is viewed. This is especially true of participles used in connection with compounds of *venire*. In a few such instances the genitive absolute is used in the account of Polybius, upon which the statement of Livy seems to have been directly based, and if we assume that the Greek determines the construction for Livy, in a few other passages, formally indeterminate, the ablative may be assumed as the construction for Livy.

*Separation of Parts.* — In the earliest writers the parts of the ablative absolute are rarely separated. In Lucretius separation is not uncommon, though the parts are rarely separated by more than one word, as though the solidarity of the construction were still kept in view. In Nepos about 18 per cent are separated, in nearly all instances by a single word. Sallust separates about as commonly, but short relative clauses are introduced, and when more than one word is introduced they are so closely connected that we should not expect them to be divided. In Caesar separation of parts is more common, and longer relative clauses are introduced. In Book VIII. of the *Bell. Gall.* and in the *Bell. Alex.* an especially large number of adverbs intervene. Separation is not quite so common in the *Bell. Af.*, while the *Bell. Hisp.* does not vary far from the earlier usage of an undivided ablative absolute.

In Livy the parts are separated in about one-third of the occurrences of the absolute, which means a very large per cent of the possible instances. This is especially noticeable at the beginning of clauses, where continuative particles and adverbs are commonly included. A genitive modifying the subject is the case most commonly included, and by the introduction of clauses with the modifiers of noun, participle, or both, the two may be placed at a considerable distance from each other. In some of the examples of widest separation there is introduced an explanation or modification of some subordinate term.

*Ablative Absolute following Main Verb.* — About one in twenty of the occurrences have the ablative absolute following the main verb. However, this includes more than the average per cent of the names of officers, indicating the time of the main action and of present participles indicating a concurrent action. Occasionally the participle expresses a consequent action, but most of them indicate antecedent action, sometimes emphasizing it by a temporal particle, and for the



position no reason can be given except the free handling of the ablative absolute by Livy.

*Modal Equivalence.*—The absolute usually expresses temporal relations, and the frequency of occurrence both in the speeches and in the other portions depends on the frequency of the recurrence of temporal statements. It is for this reason that the two portions of the work of Livy do not necessarily differ in the use of the absolute, for the moods of Livy the annalist are as varied as are those of Livy speaking through historical characters. Next to the instances of the temporal use of the ablative absolute comes a limited number that may be classed as causal, though the line of demarkation is not always a clear one. Concessive and conditional absolutes are not common, and in a very few passages the absolute gives the result of a preceding action. Apart from the temporal particles used with the absolute giving indication of its modal character, *velut* (64), *tamquam* (10), and *ut* (6) are of the most common occurrence.

*Impersonal Use.*—The impersonal use of the ablative absolute was greatly extended by Livy, who has a few adjectives used in this way, *dubio* and *incerto* being used with a dependent construction. Some impersonals passed into adverbs, and others could be more readily disposed of if we were allowed to assume that in the absence of perfect active participles these forms had become, functionally at least, active.

### 23. Note on an Elusive Preposition (*Do*), by Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The four occurrences of *endo* in the Twelve Tables were given and stress laid upon *endo dies* as preserving the terminal force with accusative, also *Endo mandetelam custodelamque*, Gai (K. and S.) II. 104. Dvenos inscription, *ted endo cosmis = tibi comis*, shows crossing with dative function, and postposition explains development of form *indu*. *Induperator* > \**indperator* > *imperator*; so *indugredior* > \**indgredior* > *ingredior*. Thus *endo iacito* (Tab. I.) had form \**induiacere* > \**indiicere* > *inicere*. Probably many forms in *in* were originally from *indu*. *Indigenus* may have remained as publicist's t.t. (cf. *ingenuus*). For the religious t.t. *indiges*, *indigito*, *indigitamenta*, the derivation *indu* + *ag* was suggested (cf. Serv. ad Verg. G. I. 498, *quasi in diis agentes*, and the function of the pontifex in private law).

*Do* was claimed to exist in *quando*, *donec*, *donique*, and the gerund. Perhaps  $\sqrt{ma}/mo: manus = \sqrt{ma}/mo: modus$ . The theory of Lindsay, which holds that the accusatives *mēd*, *ted*, *sed* were really ablatives and parallel the confusion of Eng. dative "him," was criticised; and the suggestion made that the *d* may be connected with prep. *do*. The question was also raised respecting the *d* of the neuter pronouns, also *topper* (*tod* + *per*), conjunctions in *d*, the suffix *met*, terminal adverbs in *c*, preposition *apud*, imperatives in *d*.

*Cēdō*, a so-called imperative, it was suggested, may have sprung from the preposition, and, through ellipsis, have come to be felt as imperative. (Compare Gr. *deûre*, *ἴνα* . . . *ἵδῃσθε* and Plaut. *cedo ut inspiciam*.)



24. Notes on Several Points in Latin Syntax, by Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago (read by Professor A. L. Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr College).

No abstract of this paper has been received.

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore, Bennett, Knapp, Earle, and Smyth.

The following telegram was then received : —

Professor H. W. SMYTH, *Secretary*, American Philological Association, University of Pennsylvania.

The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, forty-two members in attendance, sends greeting.

JOHN E. MATZKE, *Secretary*.

The Secretary then reported on behalf of the Executive Committee that, in the judgment of the Committee, it was ill-advised at present to create Foreign Honorary Members (see PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XXXI., p. xxix). Adopted.

25. Iphigenia in Euripides, Racine, and Goethe, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

In a previous paper Iphigenia in Aulis by Euripides and Racine was discussed. The present one is a continuation of the theme and deals with Iphigenia in Tauris as presented by Euripides and Goethe.

Though Aeschylus, Sophocles, Horace, and Lucretius sustain by inference and otherwise the opinion that Iphigenia's blood was really shed in Aulis, both Euripides and Goethe follow the fable that a hind was substituted by Diana, leaving Agamemnon —

*δοκῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δὲ φάσσανον βαλεῖν* (l. 785).

As in Iphigenia in Aulis, the endings of the tragedy differ in the Tauris situation. The opening monodies are, however, somewhat alike in some respects, but sounded in two widely differing keys of sentiment. The heroine of Euripides speaks of herself as —

*θὺμ' οὐκ εὐγάρητον,*

and as —

*οἰκτρὰν τ' αἰαζόντων αὐδᾶν*

*οἰκτρὸν τ' ἐβαλλόντων δάκρυον* (ll. 227, 8).

In the dialogue with Orestes, declared by Mahaffy to be the finest left us of any Greek poet, she shows her petulant self in her rage against Helen : —

*ὦ μῖσος εἰς Ἑλλήνας, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνη* (l. 525).

She is not only hysterical in lament as ever, but ungrateful, equivocal, ready with pretext, deceitful, and so crafty in planning as to draw a doubtful compliment from Orestes : —

*δεινὰ γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες εὐρίσκειν τέχνας* (l. 1032).



She is fluctuating as at Aulis, believes in Fate as a true Grecian, and fears death with the old fear: —

πῶς δ' οὐ θανοῦμαι.

She ventures but few decided opinions concerning mankind. Mistrusting Pylades she says: —

οὐδεὶς αὐτὸς ἐν πόνοις τ' ἀνὴρ  
ὅταν τε πρὸς τὸ θάρσος ἐκ φόβου πέσῃ (ll. 729, 30).

And she says to the women of the chorus: —

καλὸν τοι γλῶσσο' ὅτῃ πιστῇ παρῇ (l. 1064).

She weakly accepts woman's place as she conceives it: —

ἀνὴρ μὲν ἐκ δόμων  
θανὼν ποθεινός, τὰ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀσθενῇ (ll. 1005, 6).

She is narrow, with a decidedly limited intellectual range, a true woman of antiquity.

Goethe's characterization is far more sharply in contrast with Euripides than is Racine's. We cannot agree with De Quincey that this tragedy as a whole is nearer the Greek model than is Racine's. Goethe gives a type of womanhood to be found in the nineteenth century. This womanhood does not possess the *εὐρυχία* of the Grecian, but it is made up of a large degree of firmness and independence rooted in lofty sincerity and appreciation of right. This is ingrained in her.

So wirst du, reine Seele, dich und uns  
Zu Grunde richten,

says Pylades in recognition of this fact.

And the nearest approach to consent to further a deceitful scheme for escape is found in the sad soliloquy which opens the fourth act: —

. . . Ach! ich sehe wohl,  
Ich musz mich leiten lassen wie ein Kind.  
Ich habe nicht gelernt zu hinterhalten,  
Noch jemand etwas abzulisten;

while her inability to condone falsehood is shown in the lines that savor of sarcasm as she replies to Pylades' pleadings: —

O, trüg' ich doch ein männlich Herz in mir!  
Das, wenn es einen kühnen Vorsatz hegt,  
Vor jeder andern Stimme sich verschlieszt.

She does not believe in Fate, and reluctantly recalls the Parcae's song: nor has she a Grecian fear of death, which she welcomes instead. She is reflective, philosophical, when she says: —

Ein unnütz Leben ist ein früher Tod.

She is totally antagonistic to the Grecian ideas regarding her sex. She knows woman and her lot, and freely and fearlessly expresses her opinions concerning her: —



Der Frauen Zustand ist beklagenswerth.

\* \* \* \* \*

Wie enggebunden ist des Weibes Glück.

She is assertive, and does not hesitate to defend her sex when taunted by Thoas in a rage: —

Nicht herrlich wie die euern, aber nicht

Unedel sind die Waffen eines Weibes.

Her independence reaches a climax when she declares for both freedom of thought and action, as no Greek maiden would have dared, as she defies Thoas' command in these words: —

Lasz ab! Beschönige nicht die Gewalt,

Die sich der Schwachheit eines Weibes freut.

Ich bin so frei geboren als ein Mann.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ich habe nichts als Worte, und es ziemt

Dem edeln Mann, der Frauen Wort zu achten.

Nobility of character, combined with dignity of action and word, all unite to bring about the release of all by the noble-minded Thoas, a situation wholly at variance with Euripides' *dénouement*, where she is flippant even as she lightly tells Thoas *θανάσις μηδέν*, and where her deceptive ruse succeeds, and Minerva intervenes to prevent pursuit.

That Goethe makes much of sentiment does not despoil the tragedy of beauty despite the implied criticism of Mahaffy; and both beauty and effect are found in it, though these do not necessarily come as an echo from Grecian models as stated by Schlegel. We have said before that Euripides' heroine at Tauris is perfectly consistent with the one depicted at Aulis, though De Quincey might find grounds here for saying the Grecian poet did not know women, though we think De Quincey was thinking of womanhood of later centuries. But Goethe evidently knew the sex, knew, too, the true woman soul, *das ewigweibleiche*, better than either Euripides or Racine.

We conclude that though Goethe's type of womanhood is based upon Racine's, it is farther from the Greek model than is Racine's, — it is the Christian girl of Racine, broadened and chastened by suffering, expanded intellectually and spiritually.

26. The Stipulative Subjunctive in Latin, by Professor Charles E. Bennett, of Cornell University.

This paper is printed in the TRANSACTIONS, Vol. XXXI. Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore and Earle.

27. The Judgment of Caesar upon the *Vis* of Terence, by Dr. Robert S. Radford, of Bryn Mawr College (read by title).

Caesar, in his epigram upon Terence, designates him as *dimidiatus Menander*, and regrets that the absence of *vis* has prevented him from attaining an equal



rank with the poets of Greece. Notwithstanding the possible interpretation of *dimidiatus* suggested by Meineke (*Men. et Phil. rell.* XXXVI.), the epigram must be understood as affirming the inferiority of Terence to Menander in *vis*. Yet too sweeping an interpretation must not be placed upon it, and it should not be forgotten that the same reproach was brought by some critics against the New Attic Comedy as a whole (Hor. *Sat.* I. 4, 46 f., *acer spiritus ac vis nec verbis nec rebus inest*; Cic. *Orat.* 20, 67). The epigrams of Caesar and Cicero are pieces of general literary criticism, which imply that their authors were acquainted with some of the more famous Menandrian plays, but by no means necessarily with the particular plays from which Terence drew. Except for a comprehensive scholar like Varro, the Roman imitations almost entirely superseded the works of the New Comedy among the Romans of the last half-century of the republic (Cic. *Fin.* I. 2, 4; *Opt. Gen.* 6, 18). Thus Cicero commonly limits his poetical quotations to the Roman comedians, and while he has several stock quotations from Epicharmus (five times) and Aristophanes (once), it is significant that he very rarely quotes from Menander (*ad Att.* IV. 11. 2; cf. I. 12. 1).

The *vis* of Caesar has been commonly explained as corresponding to the *πᾶθος* of the Greeks and including also broad comedy (F. A. Wolf, Iber, Schanz). The result of this interpretation has been most often to attribute to Menander greater *πᾶθος* and more boisterous comedy than the extant fragments or the ancient testimonies warrant. For the Greek critics mention the *πᾶθος* but stress the *ῥῆθος* of Menander (e.g. Dio Chrys. *or.* 18, 7), while the greater popularity enjoyed by Philemon and Diphilus among their contemporaries points to the same conclusion. Plutarch also distinguishes pointedly between the style of the earlier and the later dramas. In point of fact, the characteristic Menandrian sharpness of satire and innuendo is well represented in several of the plays of Terence; as *Haut.* 1004 ff.; *Eun.* 313 ff., 934 ff. Denunciatory expressions show no weakening, and if Horace (*A.P.* 93 f.) refers, as is probable, to *Haut.* 1032 ff., for his example of the more passionate tone in comedy, he clearly could not have been conscious here of any deficiency in the *πᾶθος*. Other examples of well-sustained *πᾶθος* are *Eun.* 549 ff., 1031 ff.; *Ad.* 299 ff., 610 ff. Lively comedy in the plays of Menander was apparently limited largely to certain definite rôles, such as those of the cook and the parasite, and there is no sufficient proof of Terence's purpose to omit scenes of broad comedy, or to abridge them beyond the rest, but rather evidence to the contrary in the insertion of the scene from Diphilus, *Ad.* II. 1, and in other details. Vallat's attempt to show that the *ῥῆθος* has undergone change and that the refinement of the characters in these plays is due to the Roman poet, often disregards the ancient testimony; it may be taken as indicating how little evidence can be adduced for so extreme a view. Apart from the question of Terentian style, the results of Nencini (*de Terenti font.*, pp. 157 ff.) indicate that the Greek plays have suffered most in poetic qualities through the breaking up of many of the lyrical monologues and the frequent abridgment of the more copious Menandrian dialogue.

There is much evidence to show that, as in Hor. *Sat.* I. 4, 46, *vis* refers primarily to the diction, in the sense of an elevated and bold poetical style, and that the lack of *vis* is the obverse of the *sermo purus*: Donat. *ad Ter. Phorm.* prol. 5, *re vera autem hoc deterius Menandro Terentius indicabatur, quod minus sublimi oratione uteretur*; Ter. *Phorm.* prol. 5; *Haut.* prol. 46; Serv. *ad Verg. A. I.* 140;



Cic. *Lim.* 3, *lecto sermone* . . . *Menandrum in medium nobis sedatis vocibus effers* (where the emendation *motibus* is due to preconceived notions of *πᾶθος*). The commentators rightly explain the *pura oratio* of *Haut.* prol. 46, by reference to Cornific. IV. 8, 11, and to this passage should be added Hor. *Sat.* I. 4, 54, *non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis*.

The wonderfully varied and flexible style of Menander, so highly praised by the ancients and so integral a part of his drama, could not then be adequately represented by the *sermo purus*, the severely pure, but plain and unadorned, diction, the introduction of which by Terence into Roman literature provoked such extended controversy. This becomes more obvious when we consider that the metaphors and other figures of Menander are not especially numerous, but are often bold and poetic. In Terence, on the contrary, the metaphors are for the most part trite and drawn from the conversational language of good society (Langen, *Jf.* 125, 673); according to Gerdes, they occur chiefly in *Andr.*, *Eun.*, *Phorm.* Legitimate inferences may sometimes be drawn from the style to the treatment of *πᾶθος* (Arist. *Poet.* 22, 10), but they must be drawn with caution.

28. On Plato's *Euthyphro*, by Professor W. A. Heidel, of Iowa College (read by title).

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS, Vol. XXXI.

29. Catullus and Furius Bibaculus, by Professor W. A. Heidel, of Iowa College (read by title).

It is commonly said that among the many men of letters who came from Gallia Transpadana to Rome in the days of Catullus, all but Furius Bibaculus were numbered among the friends of the poet and were mentioned in his verses. The exception becomes very singular when one considers how closely allied Catullus and Bibaculus were in the character of their writings, as the literary tradition of antiquity amply testifies. As Catullus was born at Verona and Furius at Cremona, they may have met in the province; if not there, they must have been thrown together in Rome, where both belonged to the circle of the *Cantores Euphorionis*. Besides, Alfenus Varus, a fellow-townsmen of Furius, was probably the Alfenus of Catullus' c. xxx. We should therefore expect to find some trace of their relations with one another in their writings. Since there remain but few fragments of the poems of Furius, we must depend chiefly upon the *liber Catulli*.

Jerome gives 103 B.C. as the year in which Bibaculus was born. But his relations with Orbilius (? 103-13 B.C.) and Valerius Cato (b. ca. 100 B.C.), evidently those of a junior with his seniors, have led Teuffel, Schanz, and others to conclude that he was born much later, probably not before 90 B.C. He would thus be almost of an age with Catullus, whom he must have outlived by many years; for we must infer from Tacitus, *Annals* iv. 34, that Furius in his poems assailed Octavian. He would hardly have had occasion to do this before 44 B.C., and probably would not have dared to do so much later.

Now Catullus mentions a certain Furius in a number of his poems (xi., xvi., xxiii., xxiv., xxvi.). There is no sure clew by which to identify this Furius.



Baehrens and Couat, pitching upon the phrase *bellus homo* (lxxxi. 2), maintain that the *hospes ab sede Pisauri* of that poem is the Furius of c. xxiv. 7. Since we know that Bibaculus was born at Cremona, the identification of this Furius with Bibaculus would become very doubtful, if we granted their position. But one of the most noteworthy things in Catullus' treatment of Furius is, that he is almost always associated with Aurelius as a *par nobile fratrum*. This becomes particularly apparent in c. xvi.; but again, Aurelius, as *pater esuritionum*, is but the double of Furius, the beggar and starveling. Hence Bruner, B. Schmidt, and Ellis seem clearly right in identifying the *bellus homo* and *hospes ab sede Pisauri*, of lxxxi., with Aurelius, who was in fact the host of Juventius (cf. c. xv.). In support of such a reference Bruner's suggestion that *inaurata* (lxxxi. 4) possibly glances at the name of Aurelius, also deserves to receive some consideration.

The Furius whom Catullus mentions is thus still unidentified, but there is no reason to connect him with Pisaurum. It may further our inquiry if we consider briefly his character as it is sketched by Catullus. In c. xi. he is represented as the satellite (*comites* seems to make out Catullus to be the magistrate to whose *cohors* Furius and Aurelius belong) of Catullus and as the ambassador of Lesbia. If Furius based his expectations in any degree upon the favor of Catullus, it must have been in the world of letters. In c. xvi. Furius is seen to be a critic of the verses of Catullus, who feels himself called upon to give account of his views touching the relation of morality to art. This also points to Furius' being a man of letters. From c. xxiii. one may conjecture that Furius is going the round of his acquaintances applying for a loan, and possibly he has approached Catullus with this object in view. In c. xxvi. Catullus addresses to Furius a slight skit on the subject of a villa that is mortgaged for a certain sum. From all this it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Furius belonged to the set of literary starvelings in which were numbered Orbilius and Valerius Cato. At any rate, no one would seem to be so well suited for the purposes of Lesbia's commission in c. xi. as a fellow-poet who was on friendly terms with Catullus.

Thus far, then, our conclusion would be that the Furius so often mentioned by Catullus might well be Furius Bibaculus; for there does not seem to be another Furius among the writers of this time who is so available. There may perhaps be found in the following considerations some slight confirmation of this conjecture. In c. l. Catullus gives us a hint of the form which his friendly rivalry with his fellow-poets assumed. Another illustration may be found by comparing c. xcvi. with Calvus' *frag.* 16 (Baehrens). When these poets wished to pay their respects to each other they wrote a poem in the same measure and in the same strain as some one which the recipient had written. Now there is extant a very interesting skit at the expense of Valerius Cato written by Furius Bibaculus (Suetonius, *de Grammaticis*, xi., Baehrens, *frag.* 2):—

Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum  
tota creditor urbe uenditabat.  
Mirati sumus unicum magistrum,  
summum grammaticum, optimum poetam  
omnes soluere posse quaestiones,  
unum deficere expedire nomen:  
en cor Zenodoti, en iecur Cratetis!



Let us compare with it Catullus' c. xxvi. : —

Furi, uillula nostra [uestra?] non ad Austri  
flatus opposita est neque ad Fauoni  
nec saeui Boreae aut Apeliotae,  
uerum ad milia quindecim et ducentos.  
O uentum horribilem atque pestilentem!

Here are two brief poems composed in the same metre and in the same spirit on the same subject, to wit, a mortgaged villa. The point in each skit turns upon a pun, the former on *nomen*, the latter on *opposita*. One was written by Catullus to a certain Furius, the other was written by Furius Bibaculus. The tone is very much alike, and the exclamations at the close heighten the general effect of their similarity. Is it unnatural to assume that one was called forth by the other?

Assuming so much as granted, one desires more clearly to define the relation of the poems. In Catullus c. xxvi. I the Mss. are equally divided between *nostra* and *uosttra*. If we read *uosttra* (rather *uestra*) we might conjecture that after Furius had written the gibe at the expense of Cato, Catullus retorted in a spirit of raillery, reflecting upon the financial embarrassment of his fellow-satirist. But *nostra* is more probable, paleographically considered. In case Catullus so wrote, it is to be supposed that he composed his poem first, and that Bibaculus at a later date imitated the verses previously addressed to him. This latter view would gain additional support if it were sure that the Gallus addressed by Bibaculus in his verses was the poet Cornelius Gallus (cf. Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgesch.* II. i., p. 142). As Cornelius Gallus was born in 69 B.C., he must have been a mere lad at the time of Catullus' death. We saw above that Bibaculus must have attacked Octavian about 44 B.C.; Gallus would then have been twenty-five years of age.

Finally one might conjecture that there are a number of poems among the *Catalepta* attributed to Vergil which were written by Bibaculus; such, e.g. as vi. (iii.), x. (viii.), xii. (iv.), and xiii. (v.). In almost all of them there is very evident imitation of Catullus, and the spirit manifested in them is far more nearly in accord with what we know of the character of Bibaculus than with that of Vergil. This is particularly true of x. (viii.), which so closely imitates and parodies Catullus' c. iv. It is an attack on P. Ventidius Bassus, who rose to distinction by the favor of Caesar. On the death of his patron he joined Antony, but later became an adherent of Octavian and was rewarded with the praetorship in 44 B.C. (a fact to which the poem alludes), and was made *consul suffectus* in 43. As Bibaculus was attacking Octavian about this time, it would be natural for him to assail his follower also.

### 30. Questions with $\mu\eta$ , by Professor Frank Cole Babbitt, of Trinity College (read by title).

The main thesis of this paper is, that questions introduced by  $\mu\eta$  do not (as is uniformly stated by the grammars) expect the answer "no." Incidentally, if this fact can be established, it may serve to throw light on the origin of some subordinate constructions containing  $\mu\eta$ .

It is reasonable to suppose that the fundamental distinction which exists between  $\omicron\upsilon$  and  $\mu\eta$  elsewhere should obtain also in questions; that is, that  $\omicron\upsilon$  is used in



questions of fact, whereas, when the question concerns not fact, but (let us say) possibility, μή is employed. Thus, *ῥεῖ; is it raining? οὐχ ῥεῖ; is it not raining? μή ῥεῖ; is it not possibly raining?* indicating an uncertainty in the mind of the speaker, and sometimes even an apprehension that his suggestion, after all, (in spite of a possible contrary desire on his part) may be true. Numerous examples may be quoted, but one or two must suffice. In Xen. *Mem.* 4, 2, 10, Socrates is asking Euthydemus his reasons for collecting books, and he then suggests five possible professions which it seems likely Euthydemus may be intending to adopt. In every case the question is introduced by μή, and to three of the questions Socrates adds a reason for expecting that Euthydemus will answer affirmatively.

So in Plato's *Crito* 44 c, ἀπό γε μή ἐμοῦ προμηθεῖ, κτλ., *are you not perhaps concerned for me?* etc., shows very plainly that, although Crito may wish the opposite to be true, yet he expects, and is even apprehensive, that Socrates is concerned, so that the answer of Socrates, καὶ ταῦτα προμηθεύμαι is not (as the grammars would have us believe) a bitter disappointment to Crito (cf. also 48 c).

What, then, is the reason for the statement that questions with μή expect the answer "no"? It is because in Greek, as in other languages, many questions are asked ironically, merely for effect, and in asking such questions it is natural to employ that form of interrogation which asks, "Is it possible that . . .!" Hence μή in such questions is the natural interrogative word; but the expectation of a negative answer is not dependent on the interrogative word, but on the *general context*, and such questions may be introduced by other interrogative words. (Compare Plato, *Apology* 28 d, μή αὐτὸν οἷη φροντίζει, κτλ., with 37 d, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀρα αὐτὰς οἰοῦσι βᾶδιως; and Ar. *Ran.* 526.)

Granting, then, the use of μή as an "affirmative interrogative," we should expect sometimes to find it also employed in indirect questions; but, from the original significance of μή (*i.e.* uncertainty or apprehension, as I have tried to show above), it could not be used as a colorless interrogative, but its use would be confined to questions suggesting apprehension. Hence I should explain such examples as Soph. *Antig.* 1253 εἰσόμεσθα μή . . . καλύπτει as undoubted cases of indirect questions. (Other examples in Goodwin, *M.T.* § 369.) The tendency of verbs of this sort to be followed by an indirect question has been demonstrated by Professor Hale in his article on the "Anticipatory Subjunctive" in Vol. I. of the *Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*.

To go a step farther, the use of the anticipatory subjunctive in direct questions (in the Homeric poems and in surviving phrases like τί πάθω, examples in Monro, *H.G.* § 277) is beyond dispute; but the grammarians seem averse to allowing the interrogative μή to stand with such a subjunctive, and they explain such constructions as dependent on a suppressed word of fearing; yet if we admit the affirmative meaning of the interrogative μή, all the independent uses of the subjunctive with μή in Homer (examples in Goodwin, *M.T.* § 261), including also the subjunctive with μή and μή οὐ in classical Greek (and possibly with οὐ μή), likewise the dubitative subjunctive (including particularly the use of μή with the dubitative subjunctive when an affirmative answer is expected, Goodwin, *M.T.* § 293), admit the simple explanation that they are merely questions asked by the anticipatory subjunctive and the interrogative μή.

Finally, if we carry this explanation of the interrogative use of μή into depend-



ent constructions, we are able without difficulty to account for the use of both indicative and subjunctive after words of fearing and kindred expressions.

If the facts here stated are correctly put, and it is true that a considerable number of constructions, some of which have previously offered difficulties in the matter of explanation, can be readily and directly referred to an origin from a simple and comparatively well-known construction, it should seem that this explanation is worthy of some consideration.

[The paper appears in full in Vol. XI. (1900) of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.]

NOTE. — No account is made of the arrogation by  $\mu\eta$  in later Greek of the functions of  $\sigma\upsilon$ , so that a question introduced by  $\mu\eta$  (with the help of the context) actually expects the answer "yes," as in Acts vii. 28. This matter in general has already been treated by Professor Gildersleeve in *A.J.P.* I. 45.

Professor Wright moved that the hearty thanks of the Association be extended to the Provost and the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for the generous entertainment of the Association during its sessions in Philadelphia; to the authorities of the Law School for the use of their building; and to the Local Committee for their provision for the comfort of the members of the Association.

Adjourned.



## APPENDIX.

## PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

The Second Annual Meeting was held in the Lecture Room of the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art on December 28 and 29, 1900.

SAN FRANCISCO, December 28, 1900.

In the absence of President Wheeler the Association was called to order at 10.45 A.M. by the First Vice President, Professor Ewald Flügel, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The Secretary reported the results of the negotiations with the American Philological Association in regard to affiliation. He spoke of the cordial reception which had been accorded to this proposition, and which had prompted the parent Association to accept the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast as its western branch. The nature of the affiliation was explained by extracts from a letter of Professor H. N. Fowler under date of July 10, 1900, then Acting Secretary of the American Philological Association. This letter reported the action of the Executive Committee of that Association and read in part as follows : —

“We voted to print the Pacific Coast Proceedings in an Appendix to our own Proceedings, not to exceed twenty-five pages. We voted that the Executive Committee of the Pacific Coast Association send, after approval, to the Executive Committee of the American Philological Association five papers, from which we agree to print, if approved by the Executive Committee, two papers or twenty pages in the Transactions. The alternative expression is for the purpose of allowing us to print one long paper or two short ones. All dues are to be paid to the American Philological Association. The local expenses of the Pacific Coast Association are to be paid by the American Philological Association.”

The Secretary stated further that the Proceedings of the previous meeting had been prepared by him upon invitation of the Secretary of the American Philological Association, and would be included in the next annual volume, which would upon publication be distributed to the members of the Association.

The annual dues having been collected directly by the Treasurer of the American Philological Association, the Treasurer's report consisted merely in a statement of the expenses incurred by him during



the year. These amounted, for printing, stationery, and postage, to \$12.45, for which vouchers were submitted.

Both of these reports were accepted.

The Chair then appointed the following Committees : —

*Nomination of Officers* : Professors Merrill, Fairclough, and Bradley.

*Time and Place of Next Meeting* : Professors Murray, Gayley, and Mr. L. R. Smith.

*Auditing the Treasurer's Account* : Professors Richardson and Pease.

Upon motion of Professor Clapp, it was

*Voted*, That the amount of annual dues left blank in the Constitution adopted at the previous meeting be filled in by the Secretary to agree with the custom of the American Philological Association.

The Association then proceeded to the reading and discussion of papers.

1. An Examination of Shakspeare's Artistic Reasons for Introducing Prose Scenes and Speeches in Plays which are Chiefly or Partly<sup>1</sup> in Verse, by Professor M. B. Anderson, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

In an essay entitled "Shakspeare's Prose" the late Mr. E. R. Sill reaches some conclusions which may be stated as follows : —

1. Verse being in structure and rhythm "orderly and regulated," "madness of every form must necessarily break through its laws into irregular prose."

2. Verse is used by Shakspeare for the expression of "intense feeling"; prose for the expression of ideas, "whether logical, practical, or jocular."

These suggestive and plausible generalizations are quoted in the recent popular book on Shakspeare by Mr. H. W. Mabie, who apparently accepts them as the last word of the higher criticism. They are, however, only of partial application, being apparently derived chiefly from the examination of two plays: *Hamlet* and *Lear*. The conclusions presented in the present paper are based upon the examination of the following plays: *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Pand II Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *Much Ado*. The main propositions which it is sought to establish, are : —

I. Shakspeare makes use of verse and prose, respectively, for so many different artistic purposes in different plays that Mr. Sill's two principles, while true in a limited degree, do not furnish anything like a key to the permutations from verse to prose and back again. Not even of *Hamlet* and *Lear* do they hold without qualification.

II. *a.* In Shakspeare's imagination certain characters are poetically conceived. They habitually speak in verse; and any lapse into prose is exceptional, and traceable to some unusual subjective condition, or to some stress of outward circumstance.

Examples: Hotspur, who is conceived in verse and whose one soliloquy is in prose; Brutus, whose oration is put in prose, in contrast to Antony's, to indicate Brutus's stoical self-repression before the public, and to suggest that he has placed



himself in a false position. Hamlet's prose to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern may be, similarly, expressive of a certain constraint.

b. Other characters are conceived upon a prosaic level, — mere children of Adam after the fall. Falstaff, with trifling exceptions, always talks prose. Beatrice is conceived in prose and, for the most part, speaks prose. At the crisis of her life she soliloquizes, not merely in verse, — in a rimed stanza. The lyrical form and substance of this soliloquy indicate a revolution in the speaker's feelings.

c. Certain characters, more largely endowed, pass in accordance with circumstance from verse to prose, or *vice versa*, finding in either medium a perfect vehicle of expression. Hamlet is the most conspicuous example; Prince Hal (*Henry V*) and Iago are equally in point.

III. What is true of the *dramatis personae* is true of whole scenes and even of whole plays: some are more ideally or romantically conceived, and are therefore in verse; others, perhaps more realistic, are in prose. Good examples are the scenes in *Much Ado*, in which Benedick and Beatrice are deceived. In II. iii. Benedick is "gulled" in prose and soliloquizes in prose. In III. i. Beatrice is deceived in verse and soliloquizes in rime. The more ideal note of the later scene is in harmony with the deepening feeling; there is something in its more refined tone of homage to noble womanhood.

Thus the causes of these permutations vary with the circumstances, and are not to be explained by any hard and fast generalizations. Verse is often used as a mere artistic convention, as for the language of ceremony, or of romantic feeling, which is not necessarily either deep or impassioned. In *Much Ado*, IV. i., Beatrice and even Benedick put on and put off the language of verse as if it were a court dress. The most impassioned passage of their intercourse is in prose, — their normal medium of expression.

## 2. On the History of the Unreal Condition in Latin, by Dr. H. C. Nutting, of the University of California.

Present theories held with regard to this subject are unsatisfactory. A large part of the confusion is due to a general failure to apprehend that the question has two aspects — the *psychological* and the *grammatical*. The history of thought and the history of language in general are not identical, and the unreal condition is no exception to this prevalent rule. For Latin, the proof of this is found in Plautus' usage. He is still using the present subjunctive largely as the speech-form for the unreal thought, and the language has, as yet, by no means settled definitely upon past tense forms as the proper vehicle for this class of ideas. Notwithstanding this unsettled condition of the speech-form, Plautus was *thinking* clearly in the unreal form.

St. 592-93:

EP. *Edepol te vocem lubenter, si super fiat locus.*

GE. *Quin tum stans obstrusero aliquid strenue.*

In this passage the first speaker uses an ambiguous speech form (present subjunctive): as far as *form* goes this remark might mean, 'I should be happy to invite you, if there should (prove to) be a place to spare' or 'if I had a place to spare.' The last is unreal, and implies 'I cannot invite you, for the places at my



table are all taken.' The reply of the second speaker shows beyond a shadow of doubt that the unreal thought form was suggested to him, 'Oh, in that case (= *tum* = if there is no place to spare), I shall be content to bolt something *standing*.' Such an example is the best of proof that Plautus *thought* his unreal conditions clearly, whatever the form of words he used in expressing them. Cf. *Ep.* 331, *M.G.* 1371-72, *Merc.* 591, *Ps.* 273-75, *Rud.* 1418-20, *St.* 190.

The distinction thus made between the development of the unreal thought and of the unreal speech-form is applied to the analysis of a current view on the history of this form of condition. This paper will appear in full in the *Classical Review*.

The paper was discussed by Professor Pease.

### 3. Fresh Light on Facts and Dates in the Life of Robert Greene, by Professor C. M. Gayley, of the University of California.

The author maintains that there is no proof that Greene was ever a student of medicine; that the preponderance of evidence, external and internal, is against the supposition that he was ever a parson; that he cannot have been Vicar of Tollesbury and a member of Leicester's troupe abroad; that too much weight has been given to the testimony of Shakspeare and Juby concerning Greene's authorship of *The Pinner of Wakefield*; that though he may have acted occasionally, acting was not his profession; that the Shakescene remarks in the *Groatsworth* should not be regarded as *unduly* rancorous.

With regard to the order of Greene's plays the author advances arguments to show

1) That none of the extant plays was produced before the end of 1586, or probably the beginning of 1587.

2) That the dates of production are probably as follows: *Alphonsus*, after Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and before June, 1587; *Looking-Glasse*, after *Alphonsus*, and before June, 1587; *Orlando* between July 30, 1588 and the middle of 1589 (acted at court perhaps December 26, 1588); *Friar Bacon* in 1589 after July (acted at court perhaps December 26, 1589, or March 1, 1590); *James IV*, 1590, about July (probably acted at court; if so, December 26, 1590, or as one of the five performances given by the Queen's men during 1591).

The author argues further

1) That if Greene had a hand in the *Pinner*, the metrical style would fix its date just before or after *James IV*.

2) That, if *Selinus* is Greene's, the style would range it chronologically with *Alphonsus*; but that the external evidence that it is Greene's is insufficient, and that the internal is against Dr. Grosart's attribution of the play to the dramatist. That Mr. Fleay is not without warrant in conjecturing the authorship of Lodge.

3) In the matter of '*Young Juvenall*,' of the *Groatsworth*, fresh proof is advanced to show that he was Thomas Nashe; also to show that if *The Knack to know a Knave* is not the "comédie" which Greene "lastly writ" with Nashe, there is ground for suspecting that the plot and treatment of the *Knack* were suggested by Greene, or that some one who lacked his skill freely plundered him in the production of that play.



The paper was discussed by Professor Flügel. It will appear in full in the author's *Representative English Comedies*, Vol. I (The Macmillan Co.).

Upon motion of the Secretary it was then

*Voted*, That a message of greeting be sent to the American Philological Association, convened in extra session at the University of Pennsylvania.

Adjourned at 12.30 P.M.

## SECOND SESSION.

The Second Session was called to order at 2.30 P.M.

### 4. A Problem in German Syntax, by Professor K. G. Rendtorff, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The paper opened with a discussion of the old classification of transitive and intransitive verbs and advocated the substitution of the terms "objective and subjective verbs." In connection with this discussion the passive voice in German was considered and, by a brief review of its historical development, it was shown that with the disappearance of the organic verbal endings the impersonal part of the verb assumed a more important office in the sentence. The infinitive, however, and also the past participle do not have a definite grammatical character in German. The past participle is neutral, and by no means a "participium passivi"; it receives an active or passive meaning according to the character of its accompanying auxiliary. German has an entirely different conception of the passive voice from that found in language not Germanic. It gives a passive construction to verbs be they transitive or not.

Stress was then laid on the neutral (or impersonal) passive construction which may be formed from transitive as well as intransitive verbs, *e.g. Es wird gesungen; Jetzt muss geschieden sein.* The thought conveyed is *action*, and yet this action is expressed in a *passive form*.

This construction was then traced historically. It is not found in Gothic, in O.H.G. it is rare, in M.H.G. and in modern German it is quite frequent. Finally an attempt was made to classify the verbs from which this neutral passive construction may be formed. It was found that transitive verbs which govern a personal object only (*e.g. bestrafen*) never allow it. It may be formed

*a)* From transitive verbs governing a non-personal object (Sach-object), *e.g. arbeiten: es wird nicht genug gearbeitet.*

*b)* From intransitive verbs governing the genitive or dative case, *e.g. Seiner wird noch häufig gedacht; Jetzt muss gehorcht sein.*

*c)* From subjective verbs (as: *gehen*); *i.e.* verbs whose action does not pass over from the agent to an object.

Classes *a* and *c* are the very verbs which, when used with an adjective that expresses the effect of the action on the agent, may be used as reflexives; *e.g. ich gehe mich müde, er arbeitet sich tot.*

As to the history of this construction, it may be remarked that it has so far



received but scanty attention in the grammars of German. Gottsched (1762) is the first to mention it; Grimm (IV<sup>2</sup>, 292) merely records its existence.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professors Bradley and Merrill.

During the reading of this paper a telegram of greeting was received from the American Philological Association.

5. Pindar's Accusative Constructions, by Professor E. B. Clapp, of the University of California.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

The paper was discussed by Professors Murray and Bradley.

6. The Episode of Yvain, the Lion, and the Serpent in Chrétien de Troies, by Professor O. M. Johnston, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

In his *Chevalier au Lyon*, Chrétien relates an adventure of Yvain in which he delivers a lion from a serpent. After his deliverance, the lion follows Yvain as a faithful companion, bringing him whatever game he catches in the chase, and giving him aid and protection in his adventures.

A comparative study of this episode reveals four older groups of stories from which it is derived. The oldest form of this myth noted in the present study is the Indian version of the Monk and the Elephants mentioned in Benfey's translation of the *Pantschatantra*, I, 210.

Before the Christian era this Indian story had passed to Africa, where it was connected with Androcles, and known under the title of *Androcles and the Lion*. The Androcles legend was carried to Rome about 30 A.D. by Apion, an Egyptian by birth, whose version of the story is preserved in Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, V, 14, 10.

The motifs of the fable of the Lion and the Shepherd are substantially the same as those of Androcles and the Lion, of which it seems to be an abridgment. In this fable we begin with the version of the chronicler Ademar de Chabannes, who wrote about 1029. However, thirty of the fables of Ademar are found in Phaedrus, and, by a careful comparison of these with the corresponding fables of Phaedrus, Hervieux has found that the collection of Ademar is almost a literal translation of Phaedrus. Hence he concludes that the thirty-seven fables of Ademar which do not occur in the Phaedrus that has come down to us, must also be Phaedrian fables. Therefore we are reasonably sure that our fable of the Lion and the Shepherd dates from Phaedrus, and we may place its composition about 37 A.D.

The motifs of the Monk and the Elephants, Androcles and the Lion, and the Lion and the Shepherd are quite similar. An animal is invariably wounded in the foot either by a splinter, or a thorn, or a root which is removed by a man through kindness. After the wounded foot has been relieved, the animal expresses gratitude to his physician, either by giving him something, or by aiding and protecting him. In the story of Androcles and the Lion, the lion not only brings



game to his master, but protects him when he is placed in the amphitheatre to be devoured by wild beasts.

The dragon or serpent motif appears in *Apollonius of Tyre*, which was written in Greek during the third century, and translated from the Greek into Latin about the fourth century. The German version of this story relates an adventure of Apollonius, in which he delivers a panther from a dragon. This adventure is founded on the Chinese version of the Monk and the Elephants, which was carried from India to China during the first century after Christ. That which proves the close connection between the Chinese story of the Monk and the Elephants and the adventure of Apollonius is the fact that just as the elephant carries the monk on his back as an expression of gratitude, so Apollonius rides on the panther's back from the river Ganges to Nineveh.

With the exception of the serpent motif mentioned, the episode of *Golfier de las Tours*, the Lion, and the Serpent was doubtless derived from Androcles and the Lion. This story was probably made known to Golfier while he was engaged in the first Crusade, and followed him to France on his return from the East in the year 1100. The Prior of Vigéois, who relates this story in his chronicle, was born about 1135, and, according to his own testimony, his chronicle was finished before the end of the year 1184. About seventy-two years after Golfier returned to France, Chrétien de Troies wrote the episode of Yvain, the Lion, and the Serpent, which is substantially the same as the episode of Golfier, the Lion, and the Serpent. The material for this adventure of Yvain was probably taken from the legends of Golfier and Androcles, and from the fable of the Lion and the Shepherd. These stories doubtless reached Chrétien through the *jongleurs* whom he heard at the court of Marie of Champagne.

The *Mabinogion* version of the episode of Yvain, the Lion, and the Serpent is a translation from Chrétien, and not his source.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor Matzke.

#### 7. Some Unpublished Manuscripts of the Library of Maihingen of the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries, and their Relative Value, by Professor F. G. G. Schmidt of the University of Oregon.

Among the manuscripts of the fifteenth century, found at Maihingen in Bavaria,<sup>1</sup> during the summer of 1900, the following with partial contents and their relation to kindred Mss. were mentioned: *Legendenbüchlein of the year 1492*, containing the lives of St. Eustachius, Stephanus, Johannes, Crispin, and Crispinianus, etc.; a *dialogue*, entitled *Der mynnen chrieg mit der sel;* *Calendarium mit deutschen Monatsreimen* of the years 1463-1520. A play of the seventeenth century, entitled *Von den drei Weisen aus dem Morgenland und dem bethlehemitischen Kindermord*, was dwelt upon. And, finally, a play of the year 1736: *Marianisch-musicalisches Schauspiel zu Maria-Hilf bei Scheiden* was mentioned. The author of the paper endeavored to show the value of the Mss. in an indirect way by occasional comment upon their dialectic features, Alemannic, Frankish, and

<sup>1</sup> A detailed account of German Mss. at Maihingen was given by the author of this paper in *Alemannia*, XXIV, pp. 51-86, as the result of a visit to that library five years ago.



Bavarian. By way of comparison with kindred works, their value in comparative literature and culture was also suggested.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professors Goebel and Flügel.

8. Note on Hor. *Sat.* 1. v. 16, *nauta atque viator*, by Professor E. M. Pease, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

This charming little picture of ancient life has suffered various interpretations — there being no less than eight different views advanced for the meaning of *viator* and *nauta*.

The earliest commentator regarded "*nauta in navi, viator vero qui mulam ducebat*"; other views are: *viator*, a passenger on the boat, and *nauta*, the sailor who had charge of the boat; *viator*, a "foot passenger" and companion to the *nauta* or mule-driver; *viator*, a collective term for *viatores* and *nauta* the mule-driver; *viator*, a passenger on the boat, and *nauta*, the only boatman, who, now on the boat, and now on the land, attended to the mule, the guiding of the boat and the comfort of the passengers; *viator*, a traveler on foot, some humble fellow accompanying the *nauta*, the latter serving both on land and on boat, though for the most part he remained on the boat, and from that place drove the mule (the *viator* apparently the "Irishman working his passage on the tow-path"); *viator* in a collective sense (*vectores*), all the passengers, and *nauta*, the boatman, who, sitting on the boat, guided both it and the mule.

After considering the arguments of the many commentators for and against the above views, it was maintained that the most satisfactory one of all was yet another; viz., that *viator* was a traveler on the boat, and *nauta*, the man on the tow-path.

Thus the song contest was between a *fessus viator* and the *nauta piger*. Here, as elsewhere, Horace chooses his adjectives with special care. It is the traveler who is fatigued (*fessus*), as again in vs. 94, in Catul. 31. 9 and elsewhere, and it is also he who falls asleep (*dormire incipit*) before the lazy (*piger*) tow-man stops the boat and prepares for a night's rest.

For those who object to the use of *viator* for *vector*, a passenger on water, a parallel was cited in the use of *viae* in Catul. 46. 11, referring chiefly to travel by sea, in Tibul. 1. 1. 26 to both sea and land, and to the use of the derivatives *viaticulus* and *viaticum*; and it was further maintained that these travelers from Rome were *viatores*, and that it would be unnatural for Horace to call them *vectores* for traveling nineteen Roman miles on a canal boat. In fact, Porphyrius speaks of the passengers on this very boat as *viatores*. Of those who object to the use of *nauta* for the man on the tow-path, we would ask what is the specific term? All the workmen about a boat, whether on canal boat or not, were to Horace, *nautae*, and the town was "*Differtum nautis*." Varro is quoted on *Non.* 451 as using the term *nautici equisones* for the men on the tow-path who led the mules, thus suggesting that there was no specific term, and that *nauta* might be used. Whether *quidam* or *unus* would be necessary if one passenger is meant was maintained to be a question of emphasis, and places were cited showing that these words were often omitted.



All editors have made the mistake of thinking of this boat as a very small and primitive affair. They forget that this is a part of the great via Appia, which formed the chief outlet of Rome, with her million and more inhabitants. Thousands passed over this road every year, and Strabo, a contemporary of Horace, says that this canal was much used by those who made the trip at night. Travelers from Rome usually reached Forum Appia the first evening, and, instead of spending the night with the "*malignis cauponibus*" (there were no hotels), they preferred the more comfortable night on the boat. Whether there was a parallel road or not it is not possible to say; but it is likely that Porphyrio was in error in stating that there was none at this time. In order to satisfy the many well-to-do Romans who traveled the via Appia every day, we must suppose commodious boats, fitted up so that the traveler could pass a fairly comfortable night. When the slave complained of there being three hundred on board, he was, of course, exaggerating, still we may think of a goodly number; and, though the attendants were slow, a 'whole hour' was spent in collecting the fare and hitching up the mule.

In consideration of the cheapness of labor and the abundance of slaves, there must have been a number of attendants on each boat, and it is likely that more than one boat went through the canal every night; at any rate, the town was 'stuffed with boatmen.' It is impossible to think of one man taking care of the helm, and attending to the wants of the passengers, not to mention the managing of the mule in the distance, and the difficulty of getting off and on the boat in motion.

#### 9. Chinese Literature, by Professor John Fryer, of the University of California.

With the paper on the Chinese language, read before this Association last year, as a basis, it is less difficult to enter upon the wide subject of Chinese literature. Although not containing information of much practical value to the present age, it is intensely interesting as a key to the inner life of a great and ancient people whose civilization is on entirely different lines from our own.

The two great facts that arrest our attention at the outset are the enormous amount of this steady accumulation of forty centuries, and the high style of the classical or unspoken language in which it is written. The literary pursuits of the Chinese are carried on as the indirect means to an end, viz., preparation for the competitive government examinations, which form the door to official position and emolument. These examinations, being based on a knowledge of the ancient classics, have almost prevented any attention from being paid to those technical departments of literature which form such a prominent feature in our modern Western civilization.

The Chinese have assiduously cultivated their literature from age to age, in spite of enormous difficulties; among which have been five great catastrophes, by each of which the previous accumulations of literary effort were almost entirely destroyed. Their large libraries are arranged under the four main divisions of the Classics: the Histories, the Philosophies and Arts, and Polite Literature and Poetry. Under each of these are a great number of subdivisions, covering wide ranges of subjects. The largest works are the dynastic histories and the encyclo-



paedias, which are far more bulky than any we have in the English or other European languages. Then come the Canonical Confucian Classics, with their hair-splitting commentaries; the Buddhist and Taoist works; the topographies; the biographies; the dictionaries; with the vast collections of essays and poetical compositions. The standard works in mathematics, agriculture, medicine, and other arts or sciences, in some cases a thousand or more years old, compare most favorably with the very best productions of Europe of the same dates.

The Chinese are not likely to throw away hastily these treasures of literature handed down as a rich legacy by their forefathers. They form the bond of union, binding together hundreds of millions of people, of widely different characteristics, into one vast commonwealth. The Chinese could no more do without them than we could give up our Bible, or Shakspeare, or our Greek and Latin classics. They will engraft upon them whatever they feel to be of most value that can be translated from our Western books. The Confucian Classics and a few other works have been translated into English or other European languages. Much valuable service to philology still remains to be done in this direction.

10. F in Bacchylides, by Miss Beatrice Reynolds, of the Los Angeles High School.

Bacchylides, like Pindar, is eclectic in his treatment of F. Words with an original initial F sometimes permit hiatus, sometimes do not; in many instances it is a question whether hiatus is due to F or to the ictus. In no case does F help to 'make position.'

Medial F keeps the vowels open in *δέθλον*, *δοιδά*, *δείδω*, *δέλιος* (not always), *δείρω* (not always), *δέξω* (not always), *δέλλα*, *δελπτος*, *δερσίμαχος* (a doubtful word), *πνέω*, *πλέω*.

The false F in *εἴλετο Fίον* (arrow) V 75, is perhaps due to a confusion with *Fίος* (*virus*); cf. Δ 116, *ἐκ δ' ἔλετ' ἰόν*. Further examples of false F are XVII 131, *φρένα* (F)*λανθéis*, II, 7, *αὐχένι* (F)*ίσθμοῦ*. The last is of interest to students of Pindar on account of Gildersleeve's contention for *φισθμός* in the Isthmian Odes.

Adjourned at 5.30 P.M.

### THIRD SESSION.

The Third Session was called to order at 8 P.M. Owing to the absence of President Wheeler, the annual address of the President of the Association was omitted, and Professor Flügel spoke to the Association and many visiting teachers on 'University Ideals.'



## FOURTH SESSION.

SAN FRANCISCO, December 29, 1900.

The Fourth Session was called to order at 9.30 A.M.

11. The Principles of Hermeneutics, by Professor J. Goebel, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The application of the so-called scientific method to the problems of language and literature has, in my opinion, resulted in failure wherever it has not been restricted to the physiological functions of human speech. The final test of the scientific method, the test of the experiment, cannot be used by the philologist and the historian. The intellectual process by which we gain knowledge in the mental and historical sciences is called *understanding*. It may be called the process by which we know from given sensual signs a psychic factor. If our understanding is to become an artistic process, and carry with it the force of general validity, the manifestations of life which we are to understand must be permanently fixed. The artistic understanding of such permanently fixed manifestations of life is called interpretation or hermeneutics. The latter is concerned chiefly with the interpretation of the forms of human existence which are preserved in writing.

A short history of hermeneutics was here given, extending from its origin among the Greeks, to Schleiermacher, the greatest of modern interpreters.

At its best, hermeneutics had, up to Schleiermacher's time, been a system of rules, the parts of which, *i.e.* the single rules, had been held together by the aim of giving an interpretation of general validity. Schleiermacher went back of these rules to the analysis of the process of understanding. According to him, understanding is essentially a process of reconstructing and recreating, which is closely related to the creative act in the poet.

The interpretation of literary works is the artistic development of the process of understanding which takes place in the comprehension of all spoken or written works. The process of understanding consists of two elements: the understanding of speech as a part of common language and as a product of thought. We must distinguish, therefore, between *grammatical* and *psychological* interpretation.

Whatever is to be explained in a work of literature must be explained from the language which the author and his hearers or readers had in common. Extensive reading alone can give this knowledge of the common language. Careful attention must be given to the new word formations of an author. It is necessary not only to distinguish between the real and the metaphorical sense of words, but also to go back to their original meaning and the subsequent history of their meaning. The original unity of the meaning of a word always governs the author in his use of the word, whether he is conscious of it or not. The concrete and sensual meaning is always the original meaning of words.

What is true of single words is true also of the connection of words in sentences. The knowledge of the syntactical usage is as necessary as the knowledge of the author's vocabulary. Since the meaning of a word frequently depends on the connection in which it is used, the importance of parallel passages is evident.



While the grammatical interpretation thus proceeds to understand the language of an author from the single words to the most complicated syntactic constructions, the *psychological interpretation* aims at the understanding of the productive process in the mind of the author.

The first aim of the psychological interpretation is to comprehend the unity of a work and the principal features of its composition. By the unity of the work, we understand the final motive or impulse which moved the author; by the principal features of the composition, we understand the individuality of the author as it reveals itself in the impulse.

The psychological interpretation may also be defined as the understanding of style. By style we do not only mean the exterior literary form of a work as it is expressed in language, but also the inner form which shows itself in the peculiar conception and arrangement of the subject matter. This distinction between the inner and exterior form of a work of literature is one of the greatest importance in Schleiermacher's Hermeneutics.

Psychological interpretation is divided into psychological interpretation proper and technical interpretation. It is the object of the former to understand the original impulse of the writer from his individuality, the origin of his thoughts from the totality of his life. The aim of the technical interpretation, on the other hand, is to trace back the author's work to the point where he began to meditate over the original impulse and choose the method of representation. While the meditation of the author refers to the conscious development of all the elements contained in the original unconscious impulse or conception of the work, the composition refers to the method of arranging the single parts of the work, or the expression in form of the contents developed by meditation. Again the individuality of the author will reveal itself in both processes. For a full understanding of the author it is necessary to know the relation between the act of meditation and composition in the mind of the writer.

From the preceding, it follows that exact knowledge *is* possible in the mental sciences without the aid of the scientific or laboratory methods. It is possible chiefly because we can reproduce in our inner experience the phenomena which we study. This cannot be said of the processes involved in the scientific experiment, because the phenomena of nature are pictures only of a reality reflected in our consciousness.

The paper was discussed by Professors Lathrop, Clapp, and Merrill.

12. Corrections to Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, eighth edition, by Professor A. T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

These notes, made at various times, have been carefully compared with the (partially revised) eighth edition of the Lexicon, and are submitted, in this condensed form, in the hope that they may be of service when a thorough revision of that most useful book is undertaken. Some of the notes are of slight importance, but in lexicography exactness is to be insisted on.



- αβρόπλουτος**: in Eur. *I.T.* 1148, *χλιδās*, though generally read, is only an emendation of Markland's; the Mss. have *χαltas*.
- ἀβρότης**: for Eur. *I.T.* 1343, read *I.A.* 1343.
- ἀγκάλη**: Ar. *Ran.* 704 is really from Archilochus.
- ἀκριδοθήκη**: this form alone is given; yet in Theoc. 1. 52, *ἀκριδοθήραν* is read by all the best editors, nor do Ziegler's Mss. show any variant.
- ἀναπαύω**: Theoc. 1. 17 is not "of the dead," but of Pan; it should be cited under II. 2. a, not II. 2. c.
- ἀναπτυχή**: in Eur. *El.* 868, *ἀμπνοαί* is *not* the probable reading. Read *ἀμπνυχαί*, with L<sup>2</sup>.
- ἀπανθημερίζω**: in the citation from Xen., read *ἐπεί*, not *εἰς*.
- ἀπολαγχάνω**: in Lys. 101. 3, is not "be named judge by lot," but "fail to be drawn as judge."
- ἄσκη**: " = ἄσκησις Plat. Com." But Pollux, 3. 154, whence the statement is drawn, should be cited in full.
- βλίτον**: the plant should be defined, as this alone explains *βλιτομάμμας*. See editors on Ar. *Nub.* 1001.
- βοή**: *βοάσομαι τὰν ὑπέρτονον βοάν*, cited from Phryn. Com. *Προαστρ.* 4 (read *Σατ.* 4), occurs also in Ar. (*Nub.* 1154), and is really a quotation from the *Peleus* of Eur. (or Soph.). Again, *βοήν ιστάναι* is cited only from Antiph., but is common in tragedy, especially in Eur.
- γόμφος**: sub fin., for *γόμφιος* read *γομφίος*.
- γοργόνωτος**: Ar. *Ach.* 1124 is inexactly cited.
- δαιμονάω**: "c. acc. cogn. Ar. *Thesm.* 1054." A certainly wrong interpretation.
- διάημι**: in O.I. 5. 478, read *διάη μένος* not *διάημενος* (sic!)
- ἐνεσις**: why the mention of Athenian women?
- ἐξικνέομαι**: Plat. *Protag.* 311 D is cited both under II. 2. and under II. 3. b.; the latter alone is right.
- ἐξομόργνυμι**: Eur. *Bacch.* is *not* parodied in Ar. *Ach.*!
- ἐπινήχομαι**: in Theoc. 23. 61, cannot mean "came up from the nether world."
- ἐπιτροπεύω**: Ar. *Eq.* 212 is twice cited, once with the correct reading *δῆμον*, and once with *πατρίδα*.
- ἐργάζομαι**: sub fin., for Ar. *Lys.* 148, read Ar. *Eccl.* 148.
- Εὐριπιδαιστοφανίζω**: correct and amplify from schol. Plat. *Apol.* 19 C.
- ζώστρα**: to be inserted, as read by best editors in Theoc. 2. 122 (i.e. *περὶ ζώστραισιν* for *περιζώστραισιν*).
- ἥρισάλπιγξ**: Hesych. alone is cited, but the best editors give the word in Ar. *Av.* 888, supplied from a scholium.
- θῆλυς**: line 8, for "Posit. and Comp." read "Comp. and Superl."
- θρίμμα**: Antiph. *Parasit.* 1. 3 is cited under 3, and again under 5. The former alone is right.
- κακορροθίω**: both passages cited from Ar. are Euripidean echoes.
- καλυπτός**: is used of two endings in a parodic passage in Ar. *Thesm.* 890.
- κατόπτης**: Aesch. *Theb.* 36 belongs, not here, but under *κατοπτήρ*, where it is again cited.
- κνῦμα**: in Ar. *Eccl.* 36, is not used of one "feeling for the door-handle in



- the dark"; Praxagora has a light, and is only seeking to rouse her neighbor, *θρογανῶσα τὴν θύραν*; cf. *Thesm.* 481.
- κομψιλία**: Plat. *Phaed.* 101 C is cited as *Phaedr.* 101 C.
- λάσκω**: III, "in this sense only in Attic Poets, chiefly Trag."; but the passages in Ar. are all tragic echoes.
- μάστιξ**: II. sub fin., "μ. Θεοῦ of sickness, Ev. *Marc.* 5. 34"; but the text is simply *ἰσθι ὑγιῆς ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγός σου*.
- μολύνω**: in Theoc. 5. 87 the obj. is masc.
- ναυστολίω**: Ar. *Av.* 1229 is paratragedic, and the other occurrences in Ar. are parodies.
- ξανθός**: I. 2. fin., with the passage from Clem. Alex., Eur. *I.T.* 73 should be cited.
- οἶτος**: sub fin., it should be stated that in Eur. *I.T.* 1091, editors read *οἰκτρὸν*, after Barnes.
- ὀμαλός**: I. 4., Theoc. 12. 10 is cited with Aesch. *Prom.* 901 (*ὀμαλὸς γάμος*, of marriage with an equal), but the lover simply prays that he may be loved even as he loves.
- δμβρος**: add = a snow storm, *Il.* 12. 286.
- ὀχληρός**: Eur. *Hel.* is not parodied in Ar. *Ach.*!
- παλαμάομαι**: Ar. *Ach.* 659 is from Eur., so, probably, *Pax* 94.
- πειράω**: Ar. *Vesp.* 1025 should be cited under IV. 2, not under I.
- πιμπταῖος**: for Xen. *Anab.* 6. 2. 9, read Xen. *Anab.* 6. 4. 9. The passage is also inexactly cited.
- πινάω**: "Ar. *Pl.* 297 (v. l. *πεινῶντα*)," rather, "ex emend. Brunckii (Mss. *πεινῶντα*)."
- πλίζ**: add another definition, from Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 217, *τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς εἰς τὸν λιχανὸν δάκτυλον διάστημα*.
- πρᾶγος**: of the Aristophanic passages cited, *Lys.* 706 is from Eur., and *Av.* 112 is paratragedic.
- προσουρεῖν**: Ar. *Ran.* 95 is wrongly interpreted.
- προῦργου**: the citation from Ar. *Ecc.* 784 should be *τῶν προῦργου*.
- πυροπίπης**: the *v* is marked short; it should be long.
- πυρσός**: the metaph. use in Eur. *El.* 587 is not noted; cf. *φάος*.
- ρίνός**: II. 2, for Ar. *Av.* 1274, read Ar. *Pax* 1274.
- σπλήν**: in Ar. *Thesm.* 3, it is weariness, not anxiety, that troubles Mnesil.
- στάμνος**: Ar. *Lys.* 196 belongs, not here, but under *σταμνιον*.
- στομφάξω**: at the end occurs "cf. *στομφάξω*," read "cf. *στὸμφαξ*."
- στρόβος**: at the end, for "cf. *στροβύω*," read "cf. *στροβέω*."
- στρουθός**: I. 2., in *Anab.* 1. 5. 2, the word is fem., not masc.
- συνδοκίω**: Eur. *I.T.* 71 is wrongly interpreted.
- συντείνω**: Eur. *I.T.* 207 is wrongly interpreted.
- σῦριγξ**: II. 2., not "the hole in the nave of the wheel," but the nave itself is the meaning in all the passages cited, unless in Soph. *El.* 721 it is the projecting end of the axle.
- συρίζω**: top of p. 1505 a. For *κισσοδέτας ὁ κάλαμος*, read *ὁ κηροδέτας κάλαμος*.
- φιλιτερος**: "not found in Att." Yet it occurs, in anapaests, in Eur. *Hipp.* 185 and 192, and has some warrant in *Anab.* 1. 9. 29.



χίμαρος: in Ar. *Eq.* 661, the word must be fem, not masc.  
 χοροποιός: II., in the citation from Ar. *Ran.* 353, read ἡβη, not Ἡβη.  
 ψήκτρα: interpreted only as = σπλεγγλι. In Eur. *Hipp.* it plainly means  
 "a currycomb"; cf. ψήχω.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professors Clapp and Miller.

### 13. Some Notes on the History of Philology during the Middle Ages, by Professor E. Flügel, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

After dealing with the general characteristics of philological studies during the patristic period, and the earlier Middle Ages (such as lack of independence, of critical spirit and satisfaction with the grammatical tradition), the author of the paper touched briefly upon the grammarians of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries (treated by Thurot), and upon the lexicographers Papias, Hugutio, Brito, Joh. de Janua, and stated that the progress in philological studies was represented by (1) John of Salisbury, (2) Roger Bacon, and (3) Dante.

1. *John of Salisbury* is to be regarded as the enthusiastic eulogist of philology, and a man who drew inspiration more from the ancients than from any observation of living languages; he has preserved to us the name of one of the few mediaeval independent phonologists: *Theodoricus* (printed as *Theuredus* in Giles' edition), who insisted on observing the *ora* of people, and on observing how *mirabili lege naturae* the voices are modulated; who had carefully examined (*subtili examinatione*) the *potestas* of vowels and consonants, and concluded that the five vowels of the 'ancients' as '*soni elementarii*' were not sufficient; and who described the differences of the sounds of the different (modern?) nations.

2. Of greater importance for the history of philology is *Roger Bacon*, whose works (*Opus Maius, Opus Minus, Opus Tertium, Compendium Studii*) contain, apart from some strange views (viz. on phonology, on the connection of philology and astrology, etc.), a great deal of sound thought, sound criticism, and observations which show his scientific spirit. Bacon's *practical* interest in language finds a never-ending echo throughout his works, in passages insisting on the acquisition of foreign languages, especially Greek, and led him to the compilation of the first *Greek Grammar* (still unprinted). His study of Arabic philosophy and philology (especially of *Alpharabius*) gave him the idea of a comprehensive *science of language* (*scientia linguae*) of which *grammar* is only one part, and stimulated him to observe the *dictiones* of living languages, their *idiomata* and rules, and the '*meanings*' of words.

His works contain interesting allusions to the French and English dialects, to Mediaeval Latin as differentiated among the different nations [they contain, also, the earliest references for the word *materna lingua*, used later by *Dante*], and they show his severely critical attitude toward the then fashionable ways of etymologizing. He has left us an ideal plan for an *Etymological Dictionary*, and insists 1. on observing the chronology in etymology; 2. on the recognition of the true relations between Greek and Latin; 3. on giving up the prevailing tricks of the ignorant etymologists, changing the forms of strange words "*secundum formam Latinorum*" ["*Et praecipue mirum est quod in aliquo correctores dimittunt antiquam litteram, et in alio abradunt quod est contra omnem rationem*"].



The epithets which he gives to *Papias*, *Hugutio*, *Brito*, are *grammaticellae idiotae*, *asini*. Among a number of minor points of philological interest mentioned were: his description of Chinese writing, his remarks on geographical influences on language, his desideratum of a 'new' part of grammar, dealing with the *compositio linguarum*, and *de impositionibus vocum ad significandum* [for his view that languages are given *ad placitum* = *θέλει*, he, strangely enough, quotes only *Avicenna*]; his mystic views on the influence of the soul on the word, on the miraculous power of the word, etc. His strong progressive standpoint becomes particularly clear if we compare him with *Vincent de Beauvais*, who is satisfied, throughout, with second-hand information.

3. In conclusion, the paper dealt with *Dante's* treatise *De vulgari eloquio*, in which we get, for the first time, the theory, at least, of a *historical* and *comparative* treatment of a modern language. Even if the main interest is due (and has been devoted) to the second part of this treatise, the introductory part should not be overlooked, with its 'law' (ratio) of the chronological and geographical development of languages, its remarks on the division of European languages, on a European cradle of mankind. [Special attention was paid to the connection between Brunetto Latini's views on language, and those of Dante.]

Remarks were made by Professors Matzke and Merrill.

The Chair, having been informed of the absence of Professor Fairclough, substituted Professor Murray in his stead on the Committee on Nomination of Officers.

14. *Educare*, *educere*, and *educate*, by Professor W. A. Merrill, of the University of California.

I. Nonius (422. 15) says, *alere est victu temporali sustentare, educare autem ad satietatem perpetuam educere*. The word *educare* was not used by many writers, but is frequent in Plautus, who agrees with Nonius in *Men.* 98. In the sense 'rear' it occurs e.g. in *Cist.* 1. 3. 24. In Cicero it is used frequently as the equivalent of *τρέφειν*, as in *Orat.* 42. It meant originally 'rearing,' a bringing up on the physical side; it was a word of common life, and gradually made its way into serious literature, and was used figuratively by the poets. Its use, as implying mental training, is comparatively late and comparatively infrequent.

II. Varro's well-known sentence *educit enim obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister* was influenced by the etymology of *educere*: the Varronian sense of *educere* occurs in Celsus 7. 29 and Plaut. *Poen.* 1. 2. 43, but is rare. Plaut. *Curc.* 517, *bene ego istam eduxi meae domi et pudice* is conclusive as regards training of character. Plautus frequently uses *educere* for *educare*, and most of the authors down to Tacitus do the same, or use the word ambiguously.

III. The old mnemonic line, *educat hic catulos ut mox educat in apros*, well expresses the original differences between the words. *Educare* is a later word than *educere*, and is a derivative from the latter, and finally became a synonym of it. The word *educate* is derived from *educare*, and hence ought to mean a cram, but probably at the time the English word was made the prevailing meaning had become that of *instruction*. Contrary to the dictum of Harper's Latin Dictionary, *educare* usually refers to bodily nurture and support, and *educere* to the mind.



The later English dictionaries properly warn the reader against interpreting *educate* as a derivative of *educere*, and the accompanying false gloss in interpretation.

The paper was discussed by Professor Pease.

15. The Indebtedness of Fielding to Cervantes, by Professor H. B. Lathrop, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The close kinship of genius between Cervantes and Fielding, and the debt of the English to the Spanish writer, have been the subject of frequent comment; but, so far as I can ascertain, no attempt has been made to analyze in detail the relations between the two authors. The direct references of the later novelist to the earlier constitute a full recognition by Fielding of Cervantes as his master. F. Bobertag (*Englische Studien*, I. 270) calls attention to Fielding's early attempt [1728] to transport the Cervantean spirit into England, and to his declaration that he had relinquished the endeavor because of his "too little knowledge of the world." The well-known title-page of *Joseph Andrews* [1742] acquires great significance in the light of this declaration. The other familiar references to Cervantes in the same novel acknowledge him as exemplar and inspirer along with Le Sage, Scarron, and Marivaux. The insertion into *Joseph Andrews* of little, complete, digressing novelettes is obviously due, in the main, to the influence of Cervantes. The external circumstances of the production of *Don Quixote* and *Joseph Andrews* are suggestively alike in that each took its origin from a desire to hold up to ridicule a type of literature current in its era, attacking not a literary form merely, as such, but as the incarnation of a spirit of unreality and extravagance, both in the ideal of life and in the substance of literature. The large amount of literary criticism in each romance thus made natural is alike in its themes. In *Don Quixote*, Pt. I, Cap. 47, occurs the most striking of the literary conversations in the book. In it the proper union of the marvellous with the probable, and the possibility of a prose epic, are treated. These two themes were, of course, originally Aristotelian (*Poet.* 25, §§ 3-10; I, § 6, where the "vulgate" reads ἡ δὲ ἐποποιία μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ τοῖς μέτροις . . . χρωμένη κ.τ.λ.); but the resemblances between the Cervantean conversations and the prefaces of Fielding, in the manner of exposition, leave little doubt that although Fielding knew the "Poetics," his interest in defining the bounds of the comic prose epic, and in analyzing its ideals, was due directly to his Spanish master's references to the subject.

The nature of the incidents in *Joseph Andrews* affords an obvious resemblance to *Don Quixote*. The joining on the title-page and in the book of *Mr. Abraham Adams* and *Joseph Andrews*, with due attention to precedence, as *Señor Don Quixote* and *Sancho Panza* are joined, is not accidental, nor is the fact that the characters meet their adventures while on a journey. Not a little of the humor in *Joseph Andrews* is "Quixotic" in that it depends on the juxtaposition of characters who, though living in different worlds, are friendly and intimate, and have no perception of their remoteness from each other. The delineation of character, too, has common elements. The power of commanding affection and even respect for whimsically imperfect human beings was possessed by almost no writer between Cervantes and Fielding. Addison may be an exception. Adams is a Cervantean figure.



*Joseph Andrews* was accordingly a *tour de force*, being at once a close imitation in form, and a real assimilation in spirit, of *Don Quixote*. The inserted tales, the critical essays, the original purpose, the nature of the incident, and the outward relation of the characters, correspond to an inner similarity in spirit, ideal, and temper.

In *Tom Jones* the critical essays are present, and they deal with the familiar themes. The inserted tales are present. The tale of the *Man of the Hill*, the insertion of which surprises some critics, is a survival of the archaic novel. Tom Jones has his satellite, and the story moves as the characters journey from inn to inn. The more inward matters, though they show, as Lowell says, that Fielding had assimilated Cervantes, no longer exhibit the following of him as a model, as does *Joseph Andrews*. Fielding had found himself, and by his closeness to actual life, his subtle study of motive, his detail, he belongs to a new school, differing in essentials from the elder one.

The hour for adjournment having come, Professor Flügel said a few appreciative words about the work of Professor Moses Coit Tyler, whose death the morning papers had announced, and asked the Association to rise in silence as an expression of tribute to his memory.

Adjourned at 12.30 P.M.

#### FIFTH SESSION

The Fifth Session was called to order at 2.30 P.M. Professor Merrill, who had been present at the meeting of the American Philological Association at Madison, Wis., and had acted as the Representative of this Association at that meeting, gave a sympathetic account of the cordial attitude with which this Association had been received by the Parent Association.

Reports of Committees were then called for : —

Auditing Treasurer's Account : Professor Richardson reported that the account presented was exact.

Time and Place of Next Meeting : Professor Murray reported that the Committee recommended that the third annual meeting be held at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art on Friday and Saturday, December 27 and 28, 1901, and that an additional meeting might be called by the Secretary on the Thursday afternoon preceding, if the length of the programme should demand it.

Nomination of Officers : The Committee reported the following nominations through Professor Murray : —

*President*, Ewald Flügel, Leland Stanford Jr. University.

*Vice-Presidents*, E. B. Clapp, University of California.

E. M. Pease, Leland Stanford Jr. University.



*Secretary and Treasurer*, John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University.  
*Executive Committee*, The above-named officers and  
 W. A. Merrill, University of California.  
 J. Goebel, Leland Stanford Jr. University.  
 C. M. Gayley, University of California.  
 M. L. Margolis, University of California.

These reports were adopted, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for the officers as nominated.

Upon motion of Professor Merrill, it was

*Voted*, To thank the Regents of the University of California for the use of the room in which the meetings of the Association had been held.

It was further

*Voted*, That papers of absent members should come last in order.

The reading and discussion of papers was then continued.

16. On the Form of Horace's Lesser Asclepiads, by Professor L. J. Richardson, of the University of California.

The form of a Lesser Asclepiad in general terms; distribution throughout the Odes of Horace: It would at first seem that when these verses are indefinitely repeated, such uniformity of structure could result only in monotony. Yet the fact turns out otherwise. A large variety of effects is produced through the poet's management of the following elements: I. DIERESIS AND CESURAS. (a) The verse shows in its parts unequal compactness. This term is here used to describe the sound-effect of any part of a verse as determined by the number of diereses and cesuras contained in that part. A verse, for example, whose initial two feet show more diereses and cesuras than the final two feet, may be said to be more 'compact' in the latter than in the former part. (b) The second colon tends to be more compact than the first. A Lesser Asclepiad then, despite its fixed sequence of feet, accords with other kinds of verse, which, as a rule, exhibit greater compactness, less opportunity for substitutions, and more regular effects in the final part. The poet's feeling, as revealed in Lesser Asclepiads, accords with the feeling of the ancients about the arrangement and relative length of cola in a well-constructed oration. See Cicero, *De Or.* III, 48 *fin.* & 50. (c) The compactness of the verse, as a whole, varies according to the strophe into which it enters. The fewer the kinds of verse in a strophe, the more compact the Lesser Asclepiads tend to be. (d) The compactness of the verse varies according to the period in Horace's life when it was composed. The bearing of this point in locating an ode of doubtful date. (e) Taking into account all possible arrangements of diereses and cesuras in a Lesser Asclepiad, we find that Horace chose to employ but few of them. The fact is, 2048 different arrangements of diereses and cesuras are possible in any verse of twelve syllables. (The formula for finding this number in the case of any verse is  $2^{n-1}$ ,  $n$  being the number of syllables in the given verse.) Yet Horace, among 509 verses, chose to employ simply



142 out of the 2048, confining himself, indeed, as a rule, to the use of only 12. (f) Why were these particular arrangements preferred? They avoid unwieldy and unbeautiful word-lengths and word-combinations; they avoid weak, unmusical verse-endings and unpleasant monotony. (g) Césura is more common than diéresis. (h) Monosyllabic words are not evenly distributed throughout the verse. They are more numerous in the first than in the second colon. They are massed in each colon in the forward part. The connection between this and the fact that a colon takes on, to some extent, the nature of a verse. Also the connection between this, and the fact that the several ictuses of the verse vary as regards prominence. Evidence for the latter fact: (i) The location of césuras within cyclic dactyls, and the bearing of such evidence on the nature of this foot. II. SENSE PAUSES. Their location tends to confirm certain foregoing theses. III. ELISION AND ECTHLIPSIS. The cases as they occur throughout the twelve syllables of the verse are indicated in the following table:—

	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	syl.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Elision . .	0	1	9	4	3	8	6	1	6	5	2	2	= 47
Ecthlipsis . .	0	1	12	2	1	3	5	5	1	3	1	1	= 35
Total . . .	0	2	21	6	4	11	11	6	7	8	3	3	= 82

There are then 82 cases among 509 verses; 25 fall in Book I (185 vv.), 3 in Book II (21 vv.), 44 in Book III (172 vv.), and 10 in Book IV (131 vv.). The facts here, and elsewhere in this paper, indicate that the Lesser Asclepiads of Book I are different from those in Book III, the latter, therefore, being presumably written later. This table offers further evidence for the statement that sound-effects become more regular as one approaches the end of a verse. We have seen that a colon and a verse are similar in nature; that they are not identical appears, among several reasons, from the fact that elision and ecthlipsis take place freely at the close of the forward colon, but not of the verse. IV. WORD-ACCENT AS RELATED TO ICTUS. In all kinds of verse there is a certain part of the line where coincidence of word-accent and ictus is generally bound to occur. The location of this place varies according to the structure of the verse. Being forced, then, to admit this sound-effect at one place, the poet generally takes pains to avoid it elsewhere in the verse. In Lesser Asclepiads, coincidence regularly takes place throughout the second colon up to, but not including, the final syllable. This effect is generally counterbalanced, according to the usage above mentioned, by non-coincidence elsewhere. V. WORD-ORDER. Lesser Asclepiads have such length, sequence of quantities, and location of rhythmic pauses, that they are specially adapted for containing balanced and symmetrical expressions, the contrasted and coördinate words being thrown into relief by the verse-form. VI. OTHER SOUND-EFFECTS. (a) *Inter-verse hiatus*. When one verse ends with a vowel or *m*, and the next verse begins with a vowel or *h*, there results what may be termed inter-verse hiatus. This appears largely in Horace's early work. It may, therefore, properly be taken into consideration, when one attempts to locate an ode of doubtful date. (b) *The irrational syllable*. Arguments to show why this is used, under certain circumstances, instead of a short syllable.

The paper was discussed by Professors Merrill, Matzke, and Pease.



17. Greek Elements in Schiller's Poems, by Professor A. Putzker, of the University of California.

The paper attempted to sum up the numerous Greek elements, historical, mythological, rhetorical, and verbal, contained in Schiller's poems, and to show how deeply the poet had penetrated into the life and thought of the Greeks, and how much of his own life was bound up with Greek ideas and ideals.

18. Notes on the Text of Plautus, by Dr. J. Elmore, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

This paper proposed the following corrections in the text of Plautus as constituted in the editio minor. *Aul.* 263: Meg. *Iboigitur parabo. Numquid me vis?* Euc. *Istuc: \*fiet vale.* For *fiet* read *sit*. The corruption is assumed to have arisen from the change of *sit* to *fit*, and the further change to the future on account of the context. In answers to questions of this type, the subjv. (with or without *ut*) is the most frequent construction. For the subjv. without *ut*, cf. *Aul.* 217, *Bacch.* 604, *Curc.* 524.

*Amph.* 542: Iup. *Numquid vis?* Alc. *Ut quom absim me ames \*metuam te absentem tamen.* There are strong reasons for believing that what follows *ames* ought to be given to Juppiter. For *metuam* I also read *cupiam*. Cf. *Amph.* 132, *Curc.* 171, *Trin.* 671, for *cupere*, used of the pleasures of love.

*Bacch.* 1083. *Aequom esse puto: sed nimis nolo desidiae \*ei dare ludum.* Here read *eum* for *ei*. The error arose in a capital Ms. through the omission of the waved line over *u* to indicate *m*. In the scansion, *eum* is to be read as a monosyllable, in which case *e* has the consonantal sound of *y*, thus avoiding the apparent hiatus.

*Bacch.* 1149: Ba. *Soror, est quod te volo secreto.* So. *Eho \*amabo.* Ni. *quo illae abeunt?* The corruption is not in *amabo*, but in *eho*, which is here meaningless. *Eho* should be changed to *cedo* in its frequent sense of "out with it." Bothius's change of *illae* to *illaec* is also to be accepted.

*Bacch.* 1201: Ni. *tua sum opera et propter te improbior.* Ba. *\*Ne is quam mea mavellem.* The *ne is* is a corruption of an original *Veneris*. Cf. *optis* for *optassis* in *Mil.* 669, and *certo* and *eserto* in *Mil.* 1332. *Veneris* gives the best antithesis to *tua*, and is most appropriate in the mouth of the speaker.

The paper was discussed by Professor Merrill.

19. The Causes of Uniformity in Phonetic Change, by President B. I. Wheeler, of the University of California.

In the absence of the author, the paper was read by the Secretary. Discussion was led by Professors Matzke and Margolis.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

The Chair then declared the meeting adjourned.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL SESSION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
HELD AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,  
JULY, 1901.







# MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL SESSION (CAMBRIDGE, MASS.).

Charles D. Adams, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.  
 George Gillespie Allen, Malden, Mass.  
 R. Arrowsmith, New York, N. Y.  
 Sidney G. Ashmore, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y.  
 William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 C. P. Bill, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.  
 George Willis Botsford, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Charles F. Bradley, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.  
 Carroll N. Brown, Asheville School, Asheville, N. C.  
 Mary H. Buckingham, Boston, Mass.  
 William S. Burrage, Morgantown, West Va.  
 Curtis C. Bushnell, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.  
 George Davis Chase, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.  
 George H. Chase, St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass.  
 Willard K. Clement, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
 Arthur Stoddard Cooley, Auburndale, Mass.  
 William L. Cowles, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.  
 Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Mortimer Lamson Earle, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York.  
 William Wells Eaton, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.  
 Herman L. Ebeling, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.  
 W. A. Eckels, Miami University, Oxford, O.  
 Homer J. Edmiston, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.  
 Herbert C. Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
 Arthur Fairbanks, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.  
 Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.  
 George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.  
 Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.  
 Benjamin O. Foster, State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.  
 Herbert B. Foster, St. Stephen's College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.  
 Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.  
 Susan B. Franklin, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 William Gallagher, Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass.  
 Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
 Clarence Willard Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Roxbury, Mass.  
 William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Louis H. Gray, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
 Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
 Clemence Hamilton, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
 William Fenwick Harris, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Samuel Hart, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.  
 F. B. R. Hellems, State University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.  
 Edwin H. Higley, Groton School, Groton, Mass.  
 Henry T. Hildreth, Roanoke College, Salem, Va.  
 Archibald L. Hodges, Girls' High School, New York City.  
 Arthur W. Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.  
 D. H. Holmes, Eastern District High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.



J. H. Huddilston, University of Maine, Orono, Me.  
 Ray Greene Huling, English High School, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Andrew Ingraham, Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.  
 J. C. Kirtland, Jr., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.  
 Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
 Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston University, Boston, Mass.  
 Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
 O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
 Grace H. Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
 H. W. Magoun, Redfield College, Redfield, S. D.  
 F. A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.  
 Maurice W. Mather, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
 Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Elmer T. Merrill, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.  
 Truman Michelson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Richard A. Minckwitz, Central High School, Kansas City, Mo.  
 George F. Moore, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.  
 J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
 Morris H. Morgan, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
 Wilfred P. Mustard, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.  
 Frank W. Nicolson, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.  
 Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 James M. Paton, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.  
 Charles Peabody, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University,  
 Cleveland, O.  
 Henry W. Prescott, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.  
 Joseph C. Rockwell, Cambridge, Mass.  
 John C. Rolfe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.  
 E. G. Sihler, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.  
 Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Kirby F. Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
 Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 F. H. Stoddard, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.  
 Duane Reed Stuart, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Morris Crater Sutphen, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
 Glanville Terrell, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky.  
 William E. Thompson, Hamline University, Hamline, Minn.  
 H. C. Tolman, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.  
 John H. Walden, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Minton Warren, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Winifred Warren, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
 William E. Waters, New York.  
 John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 George A. Williams, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.  
 Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.  
 John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 100.]



# AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

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CAMBRIDGE, MASS., July 9, 1901.

The Thirty-third Annual Session was called to order at 3.10 P.M. in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University by the President, Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Western Reserve University.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, presented the following report : —

1. The Executive Committee has elected as members of the Association : —

Prof. Herbert T. Archibald, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal.  
Miss Agnes Baldwin, American School of Classical Studies, Athens.  
Phillips Barry, Esq., Boston, Mass.  
Prof. Allen R. Benner, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.  
Miss Miriam Adeline Bytel, Gilman School, Cambridge, Mass.  
Percy Robert Calwell, Esq., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Prof. James Edward Church, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev.  
Miss Josie A. Davis, Peter Cooper High School, Manhattan, N. Y.  
Prof. George V. Edwards, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.  
Miss Mary R. Fitzpatrick, Eastern District High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Ray C. Flickniger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
Prof. D. E. Foyle, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky.  
Clarence W. Gleason, Esq., Roxbury Latin School, Roxbury, Mass.  
Miss Clemence Hamilton, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
Dr. William Fenwick Harris, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Eugene W. Harter, Esq., Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Irving A. Hazen, Esq., Manual Training High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Prof. Charles Horswell, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
Willard Lay, Esq., Twenty-third Street High School, Manhattan, N. Y.  
Prof. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, State College of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.  
David Magie, Esq., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Dr. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Prof. Charles William Pearson, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
Charles Alexander Robinson, Esq., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Prof. John A. Sanford, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Prof. J. J. Schlicher, State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind.  
Stanley Simon, Esq., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.  
Dr. Duane Reed Stuart, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Dr. Edgar H. Sturtevant, Kushla, Mobile County, Ala.  
Dr. Morris Crater Sutphen, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Charles H. Thurber, Esq., Boston, Mass.  
Harry F. Towle, Esq., Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Prof. Robert R. Truitt, Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md.  
Miss Alice Van Vliet, Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Willis P. Woodman, Esq., Jamaica Plain, Mass.  
Prof. R. B. Youngman, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.



2. The TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS were not issued until June, 1901, in order to incorporate several of the papers presented at the special meeting held at Philadelphia in December, 1900. Separate copies of the PROCEEDINGS may be obtained of the publishers.

3. The contract with the publishers, Messrs. Ginn & Co., has been renewed to July 1, 1906, the amount of royalty to be received by them to be twenty-five per cent instead of twenty per cent, as in the contract for the past five years.

4. The salary of the Secretary and Treasurer has been fixed at \$300, which sum is to include any outlay for clerk hire.

5. The Report of Publications by members of the Association since July 1, 1900, showed a record of books, pamphlets, and articles by fifty-five members.

6. The dues of the members of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast are henceforth to be collected by the Treasurer of that Association, and forwarded in June of each year to the Treasurer of the American Philological Association.

Professor Smyth then presented his report as Treasurer for the year 1900-1901:—

RECEIPTS.	
Balance from 1899-1900 . . . . .	\$1170.79
Membership dues . . . . .	\$1695.10
Sales of Transactions . . . . .	117.26
Dividends Central New England and Western R. R. . . . .	6.00
Offprints . . . . .	10.00
Proof corrections . . . . .	2.75
Interest . . . . .	39.74
Total receipts for the year . . . . .	<u>\$1870.82</u>
	\$3041.61
EXPENDITURES.	
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXXI) . . . . .	\$1317.61
Contribution to <i>Platonic Lexicon</i> (L40) . . . . .	195.63
Salary of Secretary . . . . .	250.00
Committee of Twelve . . . . .	94.39
Postage . . . . .	65.62
Printing . . . . .	44.50
Philological and Archaeological Congress . . . . .	21.06
Notices of Congress . . . . .	5.85
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast . . . . .	13.70
Clerk hire . . . . .	13.80
Expressage . . . . .	7.95
Distribution of Mau Circular . . . . .	5.70
Telegrams . . . . .	5.64
Stationery . . . . .	2.80
Binding . . . . .	1.60
Incidentals . . . . .	.80
Total expenditures for the year . . . . .	<u>\$2046.65</u>
Balance, July 7, 1901. . . . .	994.96
	<u>\$3041.61</u>



The President then appointed the following committees : —

On Time and Place of Meeting in 1902: Professors Earle, Paton, and Bates.

On Officers for 1901-02: Professors D'Ooge, Lodge, and Wright.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: Dr. Knapp and Dr. Sanders.

The reading of papers was then begun. The number of members in attendance at this meeting was about sixty.

# 1. Latin Verbs in *-cinari*, by Dr. George Davis Chase, of Wesleyan University.

Such verbs as *sermō-cinari*, *ratiō-cinari*, can hardly be compounds, since *sermō-*, *ratiō-* are impossible forms for the stems. The long *-ō-* seems to be an essential feature in this class of verbs.

Denominatives from *-n* stems are common enough in Latin. From stems in *-en*, gen. *-inis*, denominatives are formed in *-inare*, as *nominare* (*nomen*), *fulminare* (*fulmen*), *examinare* (*examen*), *discriminare* (*discrimen*), *germinare* (*germen*), etc. Stems in *-ō*, gen. *-inis*, also form denominatives in *-inare*, as *ordinare* (*ordo*), *aeruginare* (*aerugo*), *compaginare* (*compago*), *marginare* (*margo*), *grandinare* (*grando*), *imaginare* (*imago*), *libidinari* (*libido*), *robiginare* (*robigo*), etc. Denominatives of both of these classes take exactly the same form as those made from nouns in *-inus*, *-ina*, as *dominare* (*dominus*), *terminare* (*terminus*), *geminare* (*geminus*), etc.

We should expect nouns in *-ō*, *-ōnis*, and also those in *-ōnus* to form denominatives in just the same way, viz. in *-ōnare*. As a matter of fact there are only two denominatives in *-ōnari* in common use, viz. *contionari* and *auctionari*. Several others are met with very rarely and mostly in post-Augustan Latin, as *cocionari*, be a broker, *ἀναξ*, Quint., *consermonari*, *ἀναξ*, Gell., *potionare*, *præconari*, *quaestionare*, Eccl., rare, *cauponari*, cited once from Ennius. But in a majority of cases denominatives from nouns in *-ō*, *-ōnis*, and *-ōnus* are formed in *-ōcinari*, as *latrocinari*, *patrocinari* (*patronus*), *lenocinari*, *ratiocinari*, *sermocinari*. The verbal *tirocinium* also presupposes a *\*tirocinari*.

In the case of at least one verb double forms existed side by side, *sermonari* and *sermocinari*. The former is known only from the citation in Gell. xvii. 2, 17, *sermonari rusticius videtur sed rectius*; *sermocinari crebrius est sed corruptius*. And so it seems the longer form crowded the simpler out of use.

The Greek adjectival ending *-icus* was introduced into Latin through such words as *tyrannicus*, *paganicus*, *scaenicus*. It soon spread to pure Latin words and gave rise to *dominicus*, *flaminica* beside *flamina*, etc. The ending was especially common in *-on* stems, (1) in proper names, as *Hieronius*, *Macedonicus*, (2) in other foreign words, as *pæonicus*, *tectonicus*, *trigonius*; thence it gradually extended to Low Latin words, as *mirmillonius* (*mirmillo*), *mulionius* (*mulio*), beside the more classical *mulionius*, *histrionicus*, *fullonicus*, *lenonice*, beside the classical *lenonius*, *gurdonicus*, stupid, *mangonicus* (*mango*, slave-dealer). The next stage was to form denominatives from these. Thus we have *mangonicare*, derived from *mangonicus*, but used as the denominative of *mango*. Hence apparently a denominative suffix *-icare*. But other classes of words contributed



much more toward establishing a denominative suffix *-icare*. From nouns and adjectives in *-icus*, *-ica* were derived such verbs as *tunicare*, *vilicare*, *rusticari*, while from *-c* stems were made *simplicare*, *punicare*, *decorticare*, and many others. Some of these derivatives might have been referred to simpler forms not in *-c*; thus *duplicare* comes undoubtedly from *duplex*, but may have been connected in thought with *duplus*, and hence might arise the idea of *-icare* as a suffix. So *imbricare* may have suggested *imber* as well as *imbrex*. At any rate there came into use a denominative suffix, *-icare*, which was added to a large number of words, as *albicare*, *claricare*, *nigricare*, etc.

With *-icare* established as a denominative suffix it was an easy step to form denominatives from *-ōn* stems in *-ōnicare* instead of *-ōnare*, even when the intermediate adjective did not exist, as it did in the case of *mangonicus*, *mangonicare*. From *leno* we can cite the adverb *lenonice* and hence can infer an adjective *\*lenonicus* and a verb *\*lenonicari*. But from *latro*, *ratio*, *sermo*, *tiro*, *patronus*, we infer directly a *\*latronicari*, *\*rationalicari*, *\*sermonicari*, *\*tironicari*, *\*patronicari*. Now these forms are not found, and it is very doubtful if they ever all existed. Let us suppose the beginning was made with *patronicari* from *patronus*. The only other common verb in *-nicare* was *communicare*. On the other hand there were many verbs in *-cinare*. As examples we may cite *halucinari*, *tuburcinari*, *tibicinare*, *vaticinari*, *fidicinare*, *sarcinare*, *bucinare*, *fascinare*, *farcinare* beside *farcio*, *lancinare* beside *lanio*, *coracinare*, Isid., and *cornicari*, Pers., both meaning to caw. The analogy of this group in *-cinare* made the metathesis from *\*patronicare* to *patrocinare* an easy one. The change is similar to the corruption of *ignorant* in some country districts of New England to *igronant*, a change which is doubtless aided by the analogy of such words as *prominent*, *permanent*, etc. Given *patrocinari*, the step to *latrocinari* is an easy one. Thence through the parallelism in meaning to *\*tirocinari*. By the analogy of this group the classical *sermonari* was gradually replaced by *sermocinari*, as is partly shown by the testimony of Gellius. *Sermocinari* drew with it *rationicari*, and with that the process ceased.

To sum up:—

- (1) The analogy of denominatives in *-icare* lengthened the ending *-onare* to *-onicare*.
- (2) The analogy of verbs in *-cinare* changed the ending *-onicari* to *-ocinari*.

## 2. The Politics of the Patrician Claudii, by Dr. George Converse Fiske, of the University of Wisconsin.

There are four distinct theories on the Claudian policy: that of the ancient historians, Livy, Dionysius, and Diodorus, who believe the Claudii to be stubborn and arrogant patricians; the slightly modified form of this view held by Herzog,<sup>1</sup> who holds that the Claudii wished to build up by the side of the patrician order, a parallel plebeian order, dependent but enjoying a sort of minority representation; third, the theory of Mommsen<sup>2</sup> that the Claudii were champions of the

<sup>1</sup> *Römische Staatsverfassung*, pp. 179 ff. and pp. 265 ff. especially.

<sup>2</sup> *Römische Forschungen: Die Patricischen Claudier*.



plebeians; and fourth, Nitzsch's<sup>1</sup> view that the family were protectors of the urban trading classes and advocates of commercial expansion. This paper seeks to summarize the results of an investigation which collected and analyzed all the ancient testimony bearing upon the policy of the Claudian gens from the year 495 to the year 133 B.C. As the evidence on which my conclusions rest is mainly cumulative, it will be impossible to present it here. It will appear in full, however, in an article in the next number of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.

In the first place, the ancient view that the Claudii were ultra-patricians is enforced largely by rhetorical speeches which are assigned to the earlier and more obscure members of the family by the ancient historians. The tone of these speeches is due, not as Mommsen supposed, to the falsification of the history of the family by some early annalist, but to two traits in the Claudian character which deceived the later Roman and Greek historians. The first of these traits is arrogant and tactless pride, the second a persistent opposition to the policy of the tribunes. We see this Claudian stubbornness, for example, in the career of Appius, the decemvir, in the admission of the sons of freedmen to the senate by Appius Claudius Caecus, in the connection of Publius Claudius, consul of 249, with his freedman Glicia, and above all in the almost contemptuous disregard for religious ritual which characterized so many members of the family from the time of Appius Claudius Caecus, who tried to do away with the carousal of the pipers, to that of Publius Claudius, who drowned the sacred chickens. Opposition to the policy of the tribunes, which may be called the first article in the creed of the Claudii, is illustrated by the attitude of the decemvirate to the tribunician families like the Icillii and Duilii, by the hostility of the tribunes to Appius Claudius Caecus, Publius Claudius, consul of 249, and Gaius Claudius, censor in 169, not to mention the minor members of the family.

The second article in the Claudian creed, and indeed the central fact in the history of the family, is the unswerving patronage of the *libertini*, seen especially in the improved position given them in senate and tribal ratings by Appius, the censor, in the reforms of Gaius Claudius, censor in 169, and in the close terms of intimacy existing between Claudian patron and client, as in the case of Appius Claudius Caecus and Cn. Flavius, Publius Claudius and Glicia.

As the *libertini* were perhaps the leading element in the *plebs urbana*, we find a consistent effort made to improve the condition of this class of petty shopkeepers, mechanics, and traders on the part of the great leaders of the Claudian gens. This was done by constructing great public works which improved their economic condition, by improvements in their civic position, and above all by constant efforts to expand the commercial and political sphere of Roman influence. Here Appius Claudius Caecus, Claudius Caudex, and Gaius Claudius, censor of 169, are the most important figures.

In general, then, the theory of Nitzsch comes the nearest to accounting for the facts. It errs, however, in identifying the *plebs urbana* with a group of transmarine merchants rather than with the larger body of petty hucksters recruited mainly from the freedman class.

Remarks were made on this paper by Dr. H. A. Sanders.

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Römischen Republik*, pp. 67 ff. and 103 ff.



3. The Early Greek Alphabets in the Light of Recent Discoveries in Egypt, by Professor William N. Bates, of the University of Pennsylvania.

In this paper the writer called attention to the great importance of Petrie's recent discoveries in Egypt for the study of the early Greek alphabets. He showed that the old tradition that the Phoenicians were the inventors of the characters which formed the Greek alphabet was erroneous, and that, in short, all of these characters were in use thousands of years before the Phoenicians existed as a nation. The characters discussed were engraved upon fragments of vases which were found by Petrie in great abundance at Abydos in Upper Egypt, and date from the First Dynasty and from the earlier prehistoric period. Petrie would set as a date for these prehistoric fragments about 6000 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The writer drew up the table shown on following page, based upon that published by Petrie, showing the early characters and their later forms as they exist in Egypt.

It will be seen at a glance how important these characters are for the study of the Greek alphabet. All the theories as to the origin of the so-called supplementary signs<sup>2</sup> now fall to the ground, for here we find  $\upsilon$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ ,  $\omega$ , and  $\xi$  fully developed at the earliest period. What is more, peculiar forms such as the Corinthian beta, the Melian beta, or the Arcadian psi—forms which have always been a puzzle—are here found along with the more familiar signs. In fact, the number of characters is considerably in excess of those required by the normal Greek alphabet. This proves, first, that the peculiar characters found in some of the Greek alphabets are not arbitrary signs invented at a later period, but that they are as old as the more familiar signs; and second, that there were other signs which did not survive until Greek times.

In regard to the story that the Phoenicians invented the alphabet, Petrie suggests that a certain number of these signs may have been used for numerals and so have been written in a fixed order, and that the Phoenicians may have taken them over for use as letters. There seems to have been a tradition to this effect in Crete, for Diodorus (v. 74) in a passage pointed out by Six says, *φασί (i.e. οἱ Κρήτες) τοὺς Φοίνικας οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐρεῖν ἀλλὰ τοὺς τύπους τῶν γραμμάτων μεταθεῖναι μόνον*.<sup>3</sup>

However this may be, the alphabet did not originate with the Phoenicians. Who the inventors were we cannot say. The characters are not Egyptian so far as Egyptologists can now tell. They may have originated, as Petrie seems to believe, with the prehistoric inhabitants of Egypt, but more than that we cannot say. At all events, as Petrie well points out, the history of the alphabet is as old as the history of civilization itself.

4. Some Text Emendations to the Rig-Veda, Atharva-Veda, and Kena Upanishad, by Truman Michelson, Esq., of Harvard University.

I. Kena Upanishad, second Khaṇḍa: the fifth verse runs as follows: *iha cedavediḍ aṭha satyam asti na ced ihā 'vedin mahatī vinastih: bhūtesu bhūtesu vicitya*

<sup>1</sup> *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* Part I, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> For the principal theories see Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik*, p. 516 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Evans, *Cretan Pictographs and Pre-Phoenician Script*, p. 103.



Pre-historic Egyptian 6000 B. C. (?)	First Dynasty ca. 4777-4514 B. C.	Twelfth Dynasty 2778-2565 B. C.	Eighteenth Dynasty 1587-1327	
A		AAA		a
1	1	1<3		γ
Δ	Δ	Δ		δ
≡	≡	≡		ε
F	F^	7F^		F
I		I I		ζ
HX	目	目H	HBT	η
		⊙	⊙	θ
I	I	I	I	ι
		K		κ
1	1^	^^		λ
Δ	Δ			} μ
	Δ			
4	4N	NN		ν
O	O	O	O	ο
^		^	1	π
11		PP		ρ
^			^	} σ
^	^	M	^	
↑	↑	T	↑	τ
YIV	YY	YYVV	YV	υ
φ	φφ			φ
x+	x+	x+x		χ
Yv	Y	Yv	Y	ψ
	∪ ∪			ω (?)
≡	≡	≡		ξ (?)
9	9		9	9 (?)
		vv	vv	β (?)
8	8		8	ε (?)
5		7		β (?)
*		*	*	ψ (?)



*dhīrāḥ pretyā* 'smāl lokād amṛtī bhavanti. This is usually considered *prose*, but as what preceeds is metrical, we should be inclined to consider this also *metrical*. And by reading *mahī* for *mahatī* and considering<sup>1</sup> *iha ced* as an anapaest substituted for an iambus, it is metrical. *iha ced avel.d atha satyam asti na ced ihī* 'vedin mahī vinasitih : bhūtesu bhūtesu vicitya dhīrāḥ pretyā 'smāl lokād amṛtī bhavanti is good triṣṭubh metre.

II. Atharva-Veda I. 8. 4. This passage is very hard both in metre and sense. By the courtesy of my honored teacher, Professor Lanman, I read in proof-sheets what the late Professor Whitney said in his translation of the Atharva-Veda which is now rapidly being completed. "The irregular metre and broken connection of the second half-verse suggest possible corruption of the text." By reading *etāms* for *tāms*, and pronouncing *tuḍm*, *jahi*, and *ṣaam*, the metre of the second half-verse is restored.<sup>2</sup>

*etāms tuḍm brāhmaṇī vāvṛdhānō jahi ṣaam śatatārham agne.*

III. Some observations on Rig-Veda I. 61.<sup>3</sup> In this hymn there are several lines of triṣṭubh of ten syllables which can be emended without much violence so as to be of eleven. I do not wish it to be inferred, however, that these emendations are necessary, as the *cadence* and not the *number of syllables* is the main point in Vedic metres. As is known, the triṣṭubh of ten syllables sprang from a mixture of triṣṭubhs of 4 + 7 syllables and 5 + 6 syllables.

Verse 4 a : *asmā id u stūmaṁ sām kinomi*. By reading *ahm* for *sām* we have a line of eleven syllables. In R.V. I. 184. 4, root *hi* occurs without a verbal prefix, so that we need have no scruples for striking out *sām*.

Verse 6 a : *asmā id u tvāṣṭī takṣad vājram*. Here *atukṣad*, the augmented form, would make the line of eleven syllables, but, even then, the ninth syllable would be long where a short is wanted.<sup>4</sup> Of course, in the saṁhitā-text *takṣad* and *atukṣad* would appear the same. Possibly we should also pronounce *vājram*, and then read the line as a jagati. For *vājram* cf. *rudrām* R.V. I. 114. 4. *Indra* also is sometimes to be read *indrā*.

6 c : *vṛtrasya cid vidāid yēna mārma*. To be sure, we can pronounce *vṛtrasia*, but this will scarcely recommend itself, for genitive singulars in *-sia* are of exceedingly rare occurrence. If *dvidad* be read, we have a good line of eleven syllables.

10 a : *asyéd evd śvasā ṣuśāntam*. We can resolve *asyéd* into *asyā id*, and then the line will have eleven syllables, but observe that in verse 9 a, *asyéd* can not be so resolved.

10 b : *vī vṛccad vājreṇa vṛtrām indrah*. By reading *avṛccad*, the augmented form, we have eleven syllables. Furthermore, it has this to recommend itself, viz. : that this avoids the pause after the third syllable. As is known, the pause usually is after the fourth or fifth syllable (A. Bergaigne and V. Henry, *Manuel*, § 122). Of course, it is also possible to pronounce *vājreṇa*, but this latter does not commend itself to me, as we should still have the objectionable pause after the third syllable.

<sup>1</sup> Or we can read *satyam asti* with the elision of *-m* and crasis.

<sup>2</sup> I am aware that Professor Bloomfield, SBE xlvii., p. 239, suggests resolving both *tāms* and *tuḍm* or inserting *jahi* after *tuḍm*. I cannot accept the proposed resolution of *tāms*; and reading *etāms* is easier than inserting *jahi*.

<sup>3</sup> This hymn occurs without variants A.V. XX. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Or shall we read *takṣata* ? This would make the ninth syllable short.



11 b: *pāri ydd vājreṇa sīm dyachat*. To make this line of eleven syllables, we must pronounce *vājreṇa*.

12 c: *gōr nā pāruva vi radā tiraççā*. If we substitute the fuller ending, *-āni* in *pāruva*, we have a line of eleven syllables.

13 a: *asyā u prā brūhi pūrvyāni*. We may here resolve *asyā* into *asyā id*. In any case, we must pronounce *pūrvyāni*.

13 b: *turdsya karmāni ndvya ukthāih*. We can here substitute *ndvya* for *navya* to make the line have eleven syllables.

14 d: *sadyā bhuvad viryāya noddhā*. Here the augmented form *abhuvad* will give the verse eleven syllables (but see Oldenberg Prol. Rig-Veda, 174).

Two other lines are a little more difficult:

4 c: *giraç ca girvāhase suvṛktī*. Unless we pronounce *girvaahase*, we must insert *te* before *suvṛktī* to make the verse have eleven syllables.

15 d: *sānuvaçye sūsvim āvad indrah*. It is possible to insert *sā* before *āvad* or *sūsvim*. *Sānuvaçye* must be pronounced *-vie*.

## 5. Brief Notes on Thucydides, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

II. 4. 2: τοῦ μὴ ἐκφύγειν denotes purpose, not result. But it is better to read, with Dobree, τὸ for τοῦ. — II. 5. 7: δ' οὖν means 'nevertheless.' Cp. I. 3. 5. — II. 18. 3: ξυναγωγὴ is to be taken metaphorically ('war-clouds'). — III. 16. 3: ὅς ἐμελλεν κ.τ.λ. is not ambiguous or superfluous. As admiral Alcidas would naturally conduct the expedition. — III. 31. 1: σφίσι is to be construed with γίγνηται. — III. 82. 1: the sense demands either two finite verbs or two participles.

## 6. The Harpalus Case, by Professor Charles D. Adams, of Dartmouth College.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

## 7. Notes on Tacitus and Vergil, by Professor H. W. Magoun, of Redfield College.

In a well-known passage of the *Agricola* (x. 6), Tacitus writes: *Unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenuis adescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo*. What does he mean by the word *fluminum*? Church and Brodribb render the passage: 'I would simply add, that nowhere has the sea a wider dominion, that it has many currents running in every direction, that it does not merely flow and ebb within the limits of the shore, but penetrates and winds far inland, and finds a home among hills and mountains as though in its own domain.' Others translate the word 'currents in the sea.' But are currents in the sea *flumina*?

So far as I have been able to discover, all seem to have this idea. Draeger to be sure, refers the passage, and refers it correctly, I believe, to the narrow bays and inlets of the coast; but he changes the reading to *fluctuum*. Is the



change necessary? What could be more natural than that the ebbing and flowing of the tide in these narrow bays and inlets should give the impression of *flumina* to the casual observer, or even to so careful an observer as Tacitus himself? On this basis the phenomena referred to could not properly be called "currents in the sea"; for the currents in question are not sea currents, or currents in the sea, in any strict sense of the term. They are rather tidal currents in the indentations of the coast, and nothing more. To one who has actually seen such currents within the irregularities of a broken shore, the word *flumina* is decidedly appropriate as a means of reproducing the impression which they give. I would render the passage: 'One thing I would add; nowhere does the sea have a wider dominion, many a tidal-current streams back and forth, and does not merely ebb and flow within the limits of the shore, but penetrates far inland and winds about, and even makes its way among the hills and mountains as if in its own domain.'

My second note has reference to three words in Vergil's account of the foot-race, *Aen.* v. 291-361. Three prizes are offered, 310-314. Then follow the lines: —

Haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt, signoque repente  
corripiunt spatia audito, limenque relinquunt,  
effusi nimbo similes; simul ultima signant. — 315-317.

What is the meaning of the last three words? Conington renders them, 'their eyes fixed on the goal'; Kennedy has, 'make the goal their mark'; and no one seems to have questioned this view of the passage, so far as I have been able to find.

But *ultima*, in the sense of 'goal,' is nowhere cited. Neither is *signo* cited with the meaning here given. Vergil, to be sure, uses *signari oculis* (xii. 3) in such a sense; but there is no *oculis* in this passage. Then, too, what is the force of *simul*? Was the course so short and straight that the eyes could be fixed on the goal at once to the exclusion of all else? Why does he go on to note the leaders in the contest? Nisus is first (318), Salius second (321), Euryalus third (322), Helymus fourth (323), and Diore fifth (324). No others are mentioned. Why? Will the words in question bear the meaning 'they (the runners) at once indicate the outcome'? Let us see.

*Signo*, in the sense of 'point out,' 'indicate,' is in common use, and is employed by Vergil in *Aen.* vii. 4, *ossaue nomen (Caieta) . . . signat*. *Ultima*, in the sense of 'final events,' 'end,' which is but another way of expressing 'outcome,' is cited in Cic. *Fam.* vii. 17, 2, *ultima expectato*. So much for the words. What about the facts? Just before they reach the goal, Nisus slips and falls (327-333); in rising he trips Salius (335-336); and Euryalus, Helymus, and Diore receive the prizes in the order given (337-339). This seems to settle the matter; but the 'end' is not yet. Salius claims a 'foul' and demands first place (340-342), Euryalus and Diore protest (343-347), and Aeneas gives Salius a better prize than any of the others (351-352). Nisus now presents his case and receives the best prize of all, *praestanti munere* (359-361). Five prizes are therefore given, corresponding exactly to the position of the five young men at the beginning of the race. They did, in fact, 'indicate the outcome.'

Remarks were made by Dr. Knapp, Professor Warren, and by the author in reply.



8. A Note on the Subjunctive with *forsitan*, by Professor H. C. Elmer, of Cornell University.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

Adjourned at 5.30 P.M.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association assembled at eight o'clock to listen to the address of the President, Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Western Reserve University. The speaker was introduced by Professor William Watson Goodwin, who welcomed the Association on behalf of Harvard University.

9. The Credibility of Early Roman History, by Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Western Reserve University, President of the Association.<sup>1</sup>

Attention was first called to the great importance of Roman history, and to the increasing interest in the study of the early period. This study is made difficult not only by the insufficiency of evidence, but by the fact that so much of what has been handed down as history was the result of deliberate invention. The artificial character of Latin literature, the conscious imitation of Greek models, the servile attitude of the rest of the world towards Rome, and the development of a canonical or official version, united in producing a false tradition, recognized as such by some of the Romans themselves, but accepted in good faith by scholars until the days of Niebuhr.

Since then the pendulum of belief has swung from one extreme to the other. Scholars have passed through the stage when all that had been handed down about the Regal period was cast aside as absolutely false, a second stage when they were inclined to see much that was true beneath the overlying strata of legend, then a stage when, in some quarters at least, an almost mediaeval attitude of belief was assumed, and now finally a period when even the first condition of scepticism seems to have been surpassed.

This oscillation was compared to the change of opinion with respect to Cicero, with this striking difference, that the latest voice of Ciceronian criticism has tended to rehabilitate him as a statesman, while that of historical criticism is most vigorous in its attack upon all that tradition has handed down concerning the early period of Rome. This reference was to Ettore Pais, the Italian scholar, whose great work, *La Storia di Roma*, began to appear in 1898.

Pais, while following out the lines laid down by Mommsen in his *Röemische Forschungen*, has gone far beyond him in the scope of his work, the comprehensiveness of his treatment, and the importance of his results. The book has hardly received the attention it deserves, on account of the general neglect of the work of Italians.

<sup>1</sup> This paper will be published in full in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1902.



An additional reason for the revived interest in the sources of our knowledge of early Roman history is found in recent archaeological discoveries like those in the Forum. The controversy over the *lapis niger* and the underlying structures, has involved the general question of the validity of the early tradition, and the synchronism of these discoveries and of Pais's investigation of the literary sources, makes the latter doubly important.

A brief *résumé* was given of the method of criticism applied by Pais to these so-called sources, and of the estimate in which they are to be held. Both form and content of the earliest annals of Rome were due to Greek historiographers of the third and second centuries B.C., who were attracted by her growing power, but had no desire to learn or report the exact truth. They strove constantly to find parallels between the history of Greece and of Rome, and indulged in all manner of falsification to accomplish this end.

The first Roman annalists themselves wrote in Greek and under the direct inspiration of their Greek predecessors. If they had wished to follow only original native sources, they could have found but little which was suited to their purpose. The Gallic invasion destroyed some monumental records, such as statutes, laws, and inscriptions, but the evidence of the few fragments that now remain agrees with what may be inferred from arguments of another kind, in showing that even if there had been no destruction like that wrought by the Gauls, there would have been few monuments of the sort to afford reliable historical information of a remote period.

The *Annales Maximi*, by their form and content, characterized at times even by garrulity, were shown to be a creation of the second century B.C., and to have had nothing to do with the ancient pontifical tablets, which were little more than an illustration of the calendar.

Furthermore this compilation of the *Annales Maximi* during the second century, under the influence of the first Roman poets — an influence which has been decidedly underestimated — gave rise to the formation of what is known as the 'canonical' tradition of the origin and early history of the city, and this canonical form, which was an attempt to correlate divergent accounts, seems to have been put into final shape by Varro.

Inquiry into the chief literary sources led to the conclusion that none of them possess any first-hand value, and instances were cited to illustrate how the falsification of *monumenta*, epigraphic fabrication, false etymologies, and topographical conditions, had been made the foundation of supposed history.

Still more influential in the formation of this artificial structure, *i.e.* the received history of the early days, were two other factors, first the duplication of events, that is, the assigning of what happened at one time to another much earlier date, either in the same or a slightly disguised form, a practice which has found its widest application in Roman history, and second, the influence of current political opinion, in consequence of which historians deliberately warped their accounts of the actions of the conduct of friend and foe, — sometimes out of all semblance to the truth.

The attitude of most historians at present towards the traditional history of the Regal period, is one of scepticism as to details, while they accept a few great facts that are easily recognizable beneath the mass of legend, but no one has



ventured to cast such discredit upon the history of the early Republic, as Pais does when he says: —

‘We arrive therefore at this conclusion that the whole account of the decemvirate, that is the creation of the magistracy, the sending of the embassy to Athens, the codification of the laws of the Twelve Tables, the circumstances and procedure with reference to Virginia, no less than the second secession of the plebs, the following passage of the Canuleian laws, and the revolution at Ardea, are the result of unskilful attempts to combine self-contradictory traditions, and have at bottom no historical or chronological value.’

Two events in the first century of the Republic, the secession of the plebs and the story of the decemvirate, were then discussed in the light of Pais’s criticism, and his conclusions judged to be well founded.

If this shall be the general verdict, then it must be admitted that practically all tradition before the Gallic invasion is of the same character, and future study of early Roman history must be built up on the ground which this destructive criticism has cleared.

In constructing this new history, it will be necessary to reject the prevalent theory that it is possible, from internal evidence alone, to differentiate the various literary sources in a satisfactory manner, and the consequent assumption that one author necessarily carries more weight than another, and to approach the problem from a different point of view.

Having collected *all* versions of every sort, regarding them as possessed of equal value, and having traced out, so far as possible, their genesis, interrelation in time and place, and apparent purpose, we must proceed to apply to them the tests furnished by archaeological evidence, comparative law, religion, and philology, and the accepted canons of historical criticism. Acceptance or rejection of this or that account will then be based on the result of this test, and not on any preconceived theory of the comparative value of the literary sources.

At the conclusion of the address the Association was entertained in the rooms of the Phillips Brooks House.

#### MORNING SESSION.

CAMBRIDGE, July 10, 1901.

The Association assembled at 9.35 A.M. The reading of papers was begun at once.

10. On Variation of Gender in Plautus, by Professor A. W. Hodgman, of Ohio State University.

All of Plautus’s plays, except the *Epidicus*, show in greater or lesser degree a wavering in gender, in certain words, either in Plautus’s own usage, or between his practice and that of other writers. The *Rudens* has seven instances of such variation; the *Amphitruo*, *Captivi*, *Curculio*, and *Poenulus*, six each; the *Miles*, *Pseudolus*, and *Trinummus*, five each, and the other plays, less than five. All told, we find about seventy-seven instances that may fairly come into our count — forty-four distinct words. Many of the instances are attested by the later grammarians, especially Nonius.



Some doubt was recently expressed to me as to the credibility of this tradition of variation. Nonius, I was reminded, is not very good authority; in some cases he seems to be clearly mistaken; and the support that the Plautine Ms. *F* gives Nonius is really worthless.

The matter involves not simply the text readings in our seventy-seven places, but also, in a certain degree, the general trustworthiness of Nonius and other later grammarians. It is, then, not without interest to see if the tradition can be substantiated to any degree by testimony other than that of the Plautine Mss. and the grammarians' testimony.

An examination of the triumvirate text gives us the following figures: We have

Coincident testimony of Metre, Mss., and Grammarians, in 10 cases			
	Metre and Mss.		7
	Metre and Grammarians,		1 (+ 2 fragg.)
	Mss. and Grammarians,		17
of	Mss. alone,		19
and of		Grammarians alone,	13 (+ 8 fragg.)
	Metre 20, Mss. 53, Grammarians 51.		67 (+ 10)

The twenty passages that are established by the metre could stand alone, even were they not confirmed by Mss., grammarians, or both. Fourteen of them can be paralleled from authorities other than Plautus and Nonius & Co.; four words, abundantly substantiated otherwise, happen to find no parallels in other writers; these are *artua*, n., *calor*, n., *gutturum*, m., three times, and *algum*, m.

The Plautine Mss. themselves show unusual gender, in places not already included, in thirty-six passages, seventeen of which have coincident testimony of the defendant grammarians.

We have left the most doubtful class, the instances where the grammarians attest gender not confirmed by the Mss. (thirteen cases) and the eight fragments for which confirmation from Plautine Mss. is of course impossible. Fourteen find parallels outside, one in Plautus, and six stand as an extremely doubtful residue: *aetate*, m., *capillum*, n., *lucrum*, m., *myrteta*, f., *pugnum*, n., *tergum*, m. Four of these depend on Nonius, one on Priscian, one on the Auctor de dubiis nominibus.

In arriving at these figures I have laid little or no weight on parallels to be found in Plautus himself. It might seem that, as we disregard for the time being the testimony of the grammarians, we thereby remove all chance of getting testimony of contemporaries of Plautus, except in the case of Cato's brief *De Agri Cultura*. However, quite a little knowledge of the language of Plautus's contemporaries can be gained from Cicero's quotations, from Gellius, and from Festus, — authorities distinctly better than grammarians such as Nonius, Charisius, or Priscian. A side light is sometimes thrown on gender by the occurrence of diminutives.

The names that occur oftenest as authorities for the parallels I have found, are Cato, Varro, Lucretius, Vitruvius, Columella, Apuleius, Festus (and inscriptions). This list is extremely significant. These men (and in fact almost all the other authors who confirm our genders in one or two instances each) are authors in whose Latinity the plebeian element, for which Plautus himself is our best source, is strongly marked. Their collateral testimony is therefore of far greater value than it might otherwise be.



Nonius attests gender in thirty-four instances ; he is confirmed by metre, by Mss., or by both, in twenty. Of the other fourteen, four find collateral testimony both from Plautus and from other sources ; six from outside sources alone ; and there remain the four doubtful instances already listed. It has been suggested that in two of these four Nonius may really have preserved the right text, but misinterpreted it as showing unusual gender.

Of the individual words there need be little said. The strangest word is *locarum*, which is found, with the best Mss. authority, unattested by any outside evidence, in the phrase *postid locarum*, in three passages ; this genitive occurs in only one other place in Plautus, with the normal form, *adhuc locorum*. The six words that form our doubtful residue are *a priori* no more improbable than many that are abundantly well confirmed. When we can have *frons* masculine, *amnis* feminine, and *calor* neuter, we need be little surprised at almost any variation we may find.

To sum up : Of seventy-seven instances of variation in gender in Plautus, all but six can be paralleled by testimony of various sorts, oftentimes coincident, more rarely of one kind alone. The evidence from other authors consists, overwhelmingly, of that of writers of plebeian Latin. We should be inclined to look with rather less suspicion than we might have imagined on the testimony of the later grammarians in this matter of gender. In particular, Nonius probably blundered in only four instances out of thirty-four. It would seem that, on the whole, the variations of gender in Plautus are as well assured as most points in Plautus can be.

II. On the So-called Prohibitive in Terence, *Andr.* 392, and elsewhere, by Professor Sidney G. Ashmore, of Union University.

It is my object in this paper to discuss the meaning of a few passages in Terence (chiefly), to note what seems to me to be the true force of the subjunctive therein employed, and to draw certain inferences that appear to be very certainly justified.

Let us take, in the first place, Terence, *Andr.* 392 f. : —

nam hoc haud dubiumst, quin Chremes  
Tibi non det gnatam; nec tu ea causa minueris  
Haec quae facis, ne is mutet suam sententiam.

Here *nec . . . minueris* is taken as a prohibition by Fairclough (in his edition of the *Andria*), by Bennett (*Cornell Studies*, No. IX., p. 24), and by other critics and commentators (*e.g.* Freeman and Slowman). In accordance with this view the passage may be freely translated: 'For there is not the least doubt that Chremes will refuse you his daughter; but do not you on that account alter your present conduct, lest he should change his mind.' Now it must be admitted that this gives good sense. Yet it does not follow for that reason that *nec . . . minueris* should be regarded as a prohibition. Some other explanation may yield better sense, and if the latter is supported by a well-ascertained principle of Latin syntax, it is the more likely of the two to be correct.

I hold, with Elmer (*A.J.P.*, Vol. XV., 2 and 3), that *neque* (*nec*) is not used regularly in early Latin to introduce a prohibition. Bennett and others, it is



true, have disputed this (*Cornell Studies*, No. IX.), but even Bennett seems to admit (*Cornell Studies*, No. IX., p. 4) that the number of cases of *neque* (*nec*) prohibitive is not large, and I have endeavored to show, in a previous paper, that some of the instances cited by Bennett as examples of *neque* (*nec*) with the volitive (prohibitive) subjunctive in Plautus are scarcely to be regarded as genuine prohibitions.

On the other hand, the theory of the subjunctive of obligation or propriety, if applied to the present example, would not only save us from insisting on the validity of a construction upon which grave doubt has been cast, but would give a turn to the meaning, that to my mind is distinctly more in accord with the circumstances and the context. The passage might then be paraphrased as follows: 'There is not the least doubt that Chremes will decline to give his daughter to (such a man as) you; but you ought not for that reason to let up on your present doings, lest he should (for there is just a chance that he may) change his mind.'

This rendering is better adapted to the general idea of the passage than that which makes *nec . . . minueris* a direct prohibition. Davus at this point is not seeking to be strenuous or emphatic. He is not afraid that Chremes will abandon his resolution; nor does he fear that Pamphilus will abandon Glycerium. He wishes merely to suggest to Pamphilus that the circumstances are not such as to render it desirable that the intrigue with Glycerium should be less persistently carried on. Why then should this passage be set down by any critic as one in reference to which the theory of the subjunctive of obligation or propriety "fails totally to meet the requirements of the sense" (see Bennett, *Cornell Studies*, No. IX., p. 24)?

The following from Ennius, *Ann.* 143 (Baehr.), is cited by Elmer in illustration of the theory of obligation, etc., and is condemned as such by Bennett (*Cornell Studies*, IX., p. 24):—

Nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis.

This, to my mind, must mean, 'neither do I ask for gold, nor are you under obligation to (nor need you) give me a reward.' To make *nec . . . dederitis* a prohibition, 'nor shall you give me a reward,' is logically absurd, for how can the speaker command the person addressed not to give him a reward? He can refuse to receive it if it is pressed upon him, but there the matter must end.

Let us consider also Ennius, *Ann.* 509 (Baehr.):—

Nemo me lacrimis decoret neque funera fletu faxit.

We are so much accustomed to the jussive (prohibitive) idea in thinking of these words that it is difficult for us at first to adjust ourselves to any departure from the traditional 'let no one honor me,' etc. To my mind the traditional rendering is less likely to be correct than that which would represent these subjunctives as expressing obligation or propriety: e.g. 'No one need honor me with tears, nor celebrate my obsequies with weeping'; i.e. 'no one is obligated to do so,' 'there is no necessity that any one should.' The speaker merely repudiates all claim upon the affection of others. He is willing that, so far as he is concerned, other people should be relieved of the customary burden of doing honor to the dead. Certainly the poet is not issuing a decree—a command: this, in ordinary Latin,



at least, would be *ne quis decoret* rather than *nemo decoret*, and then probably *neue* would have followed instead of *neque*.

In the *Classical Review* for April, 1901, Mr. Clement cites six passages from Terence, all of which he declares to be genuine prohibitions. The first, *Andr.* 392, *nec . . . minueris*, has already been discussed in this paper. The second, *H. T.* 976, *nec tu aram tibi nec precatorem pararis*, affords an instance of the subjunctive of obligation or propriety as clearly as anything can: 'No one is bringing a charge against you, Syrus; you need (i.e. you are under obligation to) find for yourself neither an altar nor an intercessor.' Certainly the sense here is not improved by rendering, 'procure neither an altar nor an intercessor for yourself.' The prohibition robs the speech of its irony, which is manifestly intended by the poet. The third passage is *Hec.* 79, *nullus dixeris*. Here Clement seems to me to be right in calling this a prohibition. But as Clement has cited the six passages referred to for the purpose of combating Elmer's theory of obligation, etc., it is noteworthy that Elmer is wholly non-committal where *nullus*, *nil* (*nil*), *numquam*, and *ne-quidem* with the perfect subjunctive are concerned. It is with *neque* (*nec*) alone that he is dealing; see "The Latin Prohibitive," p. 46. Moreover, it is exceedingly probable that *uti* (78) is felt with *dixeris* as well as *dicas*, and if so, the volitive force of *dixeris* would be accounted for, whether *uti* be felt as the conjunction with a dependent subjunctive (of purpose), or as a mere adverb with the jussive, as in Plaut. *Capt.* 515 (where see Elmer's note). The fourth passage is *Andr.* 787, *non te credas Dauom ludere*. It is not inconceivable that this should be a prohibition: e.g. 'This is the gentleman (Chremes); don't suppose that you are making sport of Davus (merely).' But the presence of *non* creates a difficulty that cannot be ignored. The *non* must be got rid of, or else the passage must be differently interpreted. Accordingly Fairclough abandons the Mss., and accepts *ne* in place of *non*, on the authority of Priscian (Keil, Vol. II., p. 206), making *ne te credas* subordinate. To this he is led by Fleckeisen (*Neue Jahrb. für Phil.* 1889, p. 844).

I regret that Elmer has not translated this passage in his treatise on the prohibitive, where, after advocating the recognition of the subjunctive of obligation or propriety, he adds, "the choice of *non* instead of *ne* will now be clearly understood in such passages as the following." Among these passages is the one we are discussing. I should translate it as follows: 'This is the gentleman (of whom we were just now speaking); you need not suppose that it is Davus alone, upon whom you are playing your tricks.' Here the "need not" is equivalent to "are not obliged to," and is ironical (cf. *H. T.* 976), as a direct prohibition would not be. Yet the irony is quite natural and desirable, even if it be not essential.

The fifth example is *Eun.* 1080, *neque istum metuas ne amet mulier*. Here the meaning is certainly: 'Nor need you fear that the lady will fall in love with him'; that is, there is no necessity to fear.

The sixth example is *Andr.* 640, *nil promoueris*. This can be neither a prohibition nor a subjunctive of obligation or propriety. If the verb is in the subjunctive, the mood is clearly a 'would' potential. It may, however, be a future-perfect indicative. Thus all six examples appear to fall away from the category in which Clement has placed them. There is but one other example of *neque* (*nec*) with the subjunctive in Terence that could be taken by any one as a prohibition, namely, *Eun.* 74 ff. I have argued in another paper to the effect that



*neque* . . . *addas* here is not necessarily prohibitive, even though *ne* . . . *adfligtes* occurs in the previous line. In the same paper I have ventured to differ with Bennett in reference to *neque* with the prohibitive subjunctive in Plautus.

It seems to me, therefore, that those who hold to the prohibitive force of *neque* with the subjunctive in early Latin (except in merely exceptional instances) have not yet established their position, and that the theory of the subjunctive of obligation or propriety as applied by Elmer explains much that must otherwise remain both confused and confusing.

## 12. Leading Case-Forces in the Indo-European Parent Speech, by Professor Wm. Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

Besides the space-relations of Separation, Association, and Location (expressed by the Ablative, the so-called Instrumental, and the Locative), the earliest uses of articulate speech must have recognized, and have expressed, the relation of Direction in Space and the relation of Contact or Nearness. Surviving uses are best explained on the hypothesis that the former of these ideas was expressed (as many already hold) by the Dative, and the latter (as the writer now proposes) by the Accusative.

Prior to the rise of Adverbs and the taking on of prepositional functions by some of them, the Accusative must have served in a rude way to express, so far as they could be expressed, such space-ideas as did not come within the province of the other cases. Thus "he stands by the gate" (nearness) would be expressed by a combination corresponding to *portam stat*. Details were afterward given by the use of Adverbs, as in *portam post stat*, "by the gate he stands, behind." Adverbs so used, since they seemed to show the relation between the act and the thing denoted by the Accusative, were put *before* the latter (Prepositions). The Accusative (with Prepositions) thus became the case of Space-Relations in general (barring the Separative, Sociative, and Locative relations), and even, to some extent, came into rivalry with the cases expressing these ideas (thus Latin *super* with the Accusative, except in the figurative sense of "concerning"). It completely took over, in prose usage, the function of the Dative as the case of literal Direction in Space, leaving that case free for a large development of figurative forces. A relic of the old literal force is probably, however, to be seen in the construction taken by certain compounds in Latin and Greek (thus *patriae bellum infert*, "to his country he brings = in war").

The Accusative with verbs of physical contact, like *tango*, *pulso*, *peto*, gave rise to the conception of the Direct object. The Accusative of Respect was simply the expression of that upon which the thought touched. Compare English "touching" and French "touchant" in this sense (*e.g.* *Romans* xi. 28: "as concerning the gospel, they are enemies for your sake; but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers' sakes").

For the Genitive, the writer has no new suggestion to make.

This paper will be published in full in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*.



13. Subjunctive Meanings and a Science of Relations, by Andrew Ingraham, Esq., of the Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.

Some aspects of the difficulty of classifying grammatical forms and formulas with respect to their meanings are considered; and the subjunctive forms are adduced as especially illustrative of this difficulty. Another way of approaching the subject is suggested; not new indeed, but perhaps not sufficiently regarded either in discussion or in exposition, particularly where the instruction of youthful minds is concerned.

1. The paucity of the subjunctive forms is the first thing that claims attention. They are limited to words that have person-endings, and even here are restricted to four tenses. The indicative infinitive and the subjunctive infinitive are the same. Whatever the meanings of the subjunctive may be as contrasted with those of the indicative, the participles have no forms by which they are discriminated from each other. A subjunctive has not been developed in nouns, whether substantive or adjective. Some might be puzzled to attach any sense to the subjunctive of a conjunction or preposition, and hence inclined to deny the possibility of any such form. Among adverbs a few particles might be called subjunctives; but even in these no one recognizes a subjunctive form, derivable in some uniform manner from a form that is not subjunctive. The few verbal subjunctives are not unmistakably distinguishable from indicative forms, as witness the discussions of Horace's "*Noris nos*." Nor is a subjunctive recognizable by its form alone; it requires the support of the rest of the word, as in *amet* compared with *regit*, not to mention other criteria. Add to this the lack of clearness in uttering unaccented vowels and the difficulty of distinguishing *e*'s and *a*'s rapidly written, to say nothing of the frequency with which terminations are omitted or abbreviated; and it becomes apparent that the forms, as forms, are even rarer than one might suppose who has been drilled into contemplating the language *sub specie paradigmatum*.

2. One may note next the variety and diversity of the meanings of each of these forms as obstacles to their classification. This is closely connected with the preceding. It is indeed a necessary consequence when a multiplicity of meanings that require to be communicated co-exists with a paucity of forms for their expression. One is compelled *aut indicative aut subjunctive loqui*, although the meaning which underlies the utterance may be common to both or different from either. Why are there these two sets of forms? Why not one set only or three or more sets? Whatever conclusion may be ultimately attained with regard to their origin, whether they proceed from a single source or are the result of the commingling of streams from different sources, the solution of the problem of the meanings, their affiliation, their connection, their grouping, their classification, will be advanced but a step along the path which leads to depths and darkness. The Grammarian realists, who believe that one general sense fills every individual meaning, dispute among themselves about its nature and its condition, whether it dwells below consciousness or else above it. He who posits some concrete, definite, individual, initial meaning, and describes the successive transitions from which the later diversity has originated, is met by another who insists on inverting many of his steps, if not his whole scheme; while they both seem to a third to err, or to speak as if they erred, in depicting the world



of early and remote races in terms of the world of their own developed experience.

3. Consider the many different ways in which one form is translated into English. By this are meant not synonymous translations of one passage, of which there are necessarily many, according to the skill of the translator and the development of his language, but different translations, idiomatically obligatory, of the same form in different passages. This, too, is connected with the facts noted in the preceding paragraphs, but depends likewise on the further consideration that, in no case, is there between two languages what is called by mathematicians one-to-one correspondence. *Pereat*, even when more precisely defined by an accompanying *ut*, means *May he perish, Can he perish, In order that he may perish, So that he perishes, Although he perishes (perishes), Provided he perishes, Under the stipulation that he perishes, Subject to the condition that he perishes, So far as his perishing is concerned, Let him perish.*

4. Another aspect of the same situation is furnished by the bewildering variety of names which are given to the subjunctives that occur in different connections, though in many of them the subjunctive contributes very little to what is expressed by the whole complex of indications: *Volitive, jussive, prohibitive, final, consecutive, conditional, contingent, ideal, conceptual, stipulative, deliberative, concessive, hypothetical, optative, restrictive, execrative, causal*, and many more in *-ive* and *-al*, together with numerous polyonymic designations. One wishes that these words might have emerged from the long discussions of metaphysics and logic and even jurisprudence with a definiteness of signification which would render them more suitable for the grammarian's use.

5. But *difficile per difficilius* one says when he loses, page after page, all sight of the Latin, and seeks to probe the meaning not of the translations and designations that are proffered, but of the very explanations that are given, in Modern English it is true, but also in the phraseology of Probable Reasoning, which is more subjunctive than the subjunctive itself. Did Plautus use more care in his management of the Latin subjunctive than recent expositors of his usage evince in their employment of *may, might, probably, very probably, in all probability, with absolute certainty*, and so on?

6. The classifications of adnominal genitives may disclose an additional difficulty. The relation between two things that words stand for is, in general, as different as it is distinct from any relation between the words themselves. This difference need not be always present to the mind, and by no means always observed in speech. The two points of views are, for the sake of brevity, blended in the following citation: "*Der Genitiv setzt ein Nomen zu einem andern in irgendeine durch die Bedeutung der beiden gegebene Beziehung;*" and we often rely on "The Universe of Discourse," as the logicians claim, to determine whether *object* denotes the object of a verb or the object of an action. But the difference always exists and sometimes claims attention. In the simple group, *noun and noun and genitive-ending*, who can tell what the last stands for? You know only that it designates some relation between the things the nouns suggest; but what that relation is, you learn from some other source. Hence it has assumed the very different function of expressing, no longer what relation exists, but between what things a relation exists; and this it does by showing what words are to be taken together. Whether the genitive was initially adverbial or adnom-



inal, or indifferently either, or antedated the distinction, as it certainly did any reflection on the distinction; it is plain that its prevailing adnominal use in Latin conduces to clearness by determining, apart from the order, what words are to be taken together. The ending directs you to attach the noun to another noun in the sentence, and can well dispense with unambiguously expressing a relation which emerges at once from the contemplation of the related things.

Similarly a subjunctive form may have no meaning other than that of indicating what clauses are to be grouped together; or, if one insists on its reference to something other than the language, it expresses that a relation exists between the thing-groups denoted by the two clauses, but gives not the slightest hint of what that relation is.

It may well be that these obvious considerations have led some teachers to exempt their pupils from the task of bringing each instance of some prescribed grammatical phenomenon under a rubric in this or that grammar, and to disregard those pedagogical educationalists who maintain that, although this process does not develop readiness in apprehending the meaning of a page of Latin, it is a fair preparation for a life to be spent in reconciling unavoidable actions with inflexible rules. But these same teachers are no more to be deterred than other scholars are by such considerations from attacking syntactical problems. The demonstration that a problem is insoluble has not always availed to prevent some genius from solving it. Other grammatical disciplines have surmounted like obstacles, as the triumphs of phonology and etymology attest.

These triumphs have been won in two ways. 1. The work came under the control of men who were eager and able to analyze facts and fictions into their ultimate elements, to discern likenesses and unlikenesses previously unsuspected, to subject bold conjectures to merciless tests, and to arrange their results according to a verifiable scale of probabilities. 2. The linguistic materials for examination were correspondingly increased in extent and variety. Latin alone, Latin contrasted with itself from the earliest to the latest stage, Latin with Greek, then the whole Aryan system, and now the promised modification of cherished doctrines by the investigation of American, African, and Polynesian languages; the results of which are becoming more generally known through Otto Jespersen, Raoul de la Grasserie, and Rudolf Lenz.

There still remains another province, always claimed indeed, but never so thoroughly explored that the contrast between its laws and those of syntax could be understood and appreciated.

What is meant may be provisionally designated as a Comparative Science of Relations, being an analysis and classification of relations, and for our present purpose, more particularly of those relations which are expressed by grammatical forms, but which may be considered apart from grammatical forms and viewed in connection with other relations that are of the same general nature as the former, but lack formal expression, being communicable only by some often clumsy combination of customary forms. The form, *subject-verb-predicate*, expresses, together with many other things, a certain relation between two classes. "Missionaries are Christians" denotes one of the possible relations between two classes; but another, equally obvious, equally simple, and even more common, requires for its expression the following combination: "Some missionaries are Christians, some missionaries are not Christians, and some



Christians are not missionaries." As a substitute for this combination, "Missionaries givish Christians" may illustrate what such a form might be, without exciting any apprehension that it will ever be adopted.

It is believed that a study of the relations themselves will reveal numerous like instances in which one is chosen and many are left; although, in a classification of relations with respect to their degrees of resemblance and difference, the many and the one would be in the same class.

In English, for example, there is a singular number and a plural number, but no neutral number; and, to express this, we are forced to combine the other two: "Any applicant for a course, or courses." Consider, again, the triple group involved in an instance of prohibition, the two persons (or parties) and the thing (or action); and reflect how few, and often superficial, even trivial, aspects of this relation are expressed by the subjunctive, *qua* subjunctive.

Philosophers, scientists, lawyers, and others have studied minutely certain relations; but, on the one hand, they have not held themselves sufficiently aloof from language, which dominates thought when least suspected; and, on the other hand, their classifications have little reference to the fact that one of two kindred relations may be provided with a linguistic expression, and the other not.

Logic itself may serve as an illustration and a warning. It was hardly before the middle of the last century that the thoughts of logicians turned away from propositions, categorical and modal, disjunctive and hypothetical, to study the relations of classes that lay behind these. Out of the study of these, even while limited to their most general aspects, there have grown several disciplines, each susceptible of indefinite development, and, in some instances, furnished with appropriate terminology and notation. The earlier verbal logic, with its claim to special connection with laws of thought, has come to be regarded as formal grammar may come to be regarded when more attention shall be paid to the congeners of expressed relations.

Is there no concern for precious intellects? Even if the present way of learning should be defended on the ground that it fits for the present state of society, it would seem to be the beginning of a better state of society, if the facts associated with the words, *concrete, abstract, common, collective, subject, object, etc.*, should not be learned only in connection with grammar, and if the elementary properties of classes should not be left to be picked up in some collegiate course, being obscured from view meantime by such statements as: "The modes are the indicative, the subjunctive, the optative, the infinitive, and the participial."

The branch of knowledge which it is here suggested might be developed, if for no other purpose than to be an accompaniment of syntactical studies, is not a deductive science of relations, for many such exist already to exhibit the necessary implications of relations; but a descriptive science of relations, a natural history, as it were, of relations, a classification of relations with no admixture of psychology and metaphysics, and with a terminology of its own to facilitate escape from the misleading associations of the current grammatical vocabulary.

For some time to come, the teachers and the learners, or rather the co-learners, in such matters must communicate by the living voice, face to face, and in words invented for the nonce, or without words, by objects and gesture; that the "wordless vision" may be attained of that which has in all other moments to be viewed in its partial correspondence to inadequate expression.



14. On Some Ancient and Modern Etymologies, by Professor Minton Warren, of Harvard University.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

15. Some Observations on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, by Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, of Wesleyan University.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Professor Hellem, and by the author in reply.

16. Greek and Latin Rain-gods and Rain-charms, by Professor Morris H. Morgan, of Harvard University.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Professors Tolman, D'Ooge, G. F. Moore, and by the author.

17. Notes on the Conditional Sentence in Horace, by Professor W. S. Elden, of Ohio State University.

Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.* § 341 (Dritte Auflage, 1900), and Dräger, *Hist. Synt.* Vol. II, p. 707, state that a conditional period with the Perfect Indicative in the protasis and the Imperative in the apodosis occurs in the letters to Cicero, but elsewhere is confined to Terence, Sallust, Tacitus, and Juvenal. The combination, however, is found in Horace (*Epod.* 14, 13-15: *Serm.* II, 5, 93-94: *Od.* I, 32, 1-4); and with a preteritive verb in the protasis in *Epist.* I, 6, 67-68. Examples also occur in Plautus (cf. *Captivi* 1035, *Rudens* 323) and the Elegiac Poets, also in Gellius XX, 1, 49 in a citation from the Twelve Tables.

The Present Indicative in the protasis with the Future Indicative in the apodosis is a combination very common in Plautus and Terence, occurring much more frequently than *si* with Fut.-Fut., the proportion being about 2-1 for the former and 3-1 for the latter. In Cato, *de agri cultura*, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Varro, *de re rustica*, on the other hand, only a few instances of *si* with Pres.-Fut. are found, while *si* with Fut.-Fut. is of frequent occurrence. In Cicero also the latter combination predominates, and the same is true of Lucretius, Horace (30-21), the Elegiac Poets, Vitruvius, Columella, and Quintilian. *Si* with Pres.-Fut. is the more common in Sallust, Livy in his speeches, and Seneca *de beneficiis*. In late Latin there is a return to the usage of Plautus and Terence, and *si* with Fut.-Fut. becomes comparatively rare.

*Si* with Fut.-Pres. does not occur in Varro, Sallust, Horace, Catullus, and Tibullus, and in general is much less often found than either of the other two combinations.

In most of the twenty-one instances in which *si* with Pres.-Fut. occurs in Horace, the Present refers not strictly to present time, but is used in a general sense. In *Od.* II, 10, 17-18, and *Epod.* 15, 12-14, the Present denotes present time strictly; in *Serm.* II, 8, 34, it has a future meaning. In *Od.* IV, 12, 14-16:



*Epist.* I, 7, 2-5; I, 7, 32-33, the Future has an imperative force. So also in the combination *si* with Fut.-Fut. in *Epist.* I, 7, 25-28; I, 17, 11-12; I, 13, 2-3.

Of the eight instances of *si* with Pres. Subjunc.-Pres. Indic. in the writings of Horace, in two we have a verb or expression of duty or obligation in the apodosis (*Serm.* I, 3, 111-112; I, 3, 43-44); in two also *si modo* stands in the protasis with the force of *dummodo* introducing a proviso (*Serm.* I, 2, 73-76: *Epist.* I, 1, 39-40).

Only five instances of *si* with Pres. Subj.-Fut. Indic. occur (*Od.* III, 3, 7-8: *Epod.* 11, 15-18); in *A. P.* 461-464 the subject of the protasis is the indefinite *quis*; *Epist.* II, 2, 52-54, with a verb of ability in the apodosis; *Serm.* I, 6, 42-44, where *si* has the force of *etiamsi*.

*Sive-sive*, disjunctively connecting conditional sentences, are freely employed by Horace, generally in connection with the Indicative; with a subjunctive protasis only in *Od.* I, 4, 11-12; III, 24, 56-58: *Epist.* II, 1, 194-196. *Sive-ve* (*Od.* III, 4, 1-4; IV, 2, 9-24; *A. P.* 63-69) and *sive-vel* (*Od.* I, 22, 1-8) are poetical. In two instances (*Serm.* I, 1, 1-3: *Epist.* I, 3, 31-34) *sive* (*seu*) are purely disjunctive and without conditional force. Sometimes a relative clause, or a clause introduced by a relative particle, where such clauses are conditional in meaning, stands in coördination with the subordinate clause with *sive*; once only in Horace, the coördinate clause being introduced by *quando* (*Epod.* 16, 27-31).

Sometimes *sive* is expressed once only, but implies a preceding *sive* (*Od.* I, 3, 15-16: *Serm.* II, 8, 16-17).

Different from this is the use of *sive* (*seu*) with its own apodosis, either complete or abbreviated, not implying a preceding *sive* (*seu*) but having the force of *vel si*, the *vel* belonging strictly only to the apodosis, which is contrasted with a preceding clause, the *si* going with the conditional sentence (*Od.* I, 6, 17-20; I, 15, 23-26; III, 27, 58-64).

Different again from both these uses, and combining to a certain extent the characteristics of both, is the use of *seu* in *Serm.* II, 1, 59.

Often *sive* is employed to add an alternative, with which a condition is connected, to one or more words of a preceding clause, not to the whole clause. *Sive* then has the force of *vel si*, the *vel* contrasting the apodosis, expressed or implied, of the added clause to the word or words to which it is added, and the *si* belonging to the protasis. This use of *sive* is widespread, and frequently occurs in Horace.

*Si* in the sense of 'whether,' introducing an indirect question, is found once with the Indicative, probably after the analogy of the comic poets (*Epist.* I, 7, 39). Elsewhere with the Subjunctive (*Epist.* I, 6, 40-42; I, 17, 4-5; II, 1, 164).

*Si* in a quasi-temporal sense, *Serm.* II, 3, 9-10. In *Epist.* I, 7, 10, *si* has a purely temporal force, 'when.'

A conditional protasis after verbs of emotion, the particle involving both a conditional and a causal force: 1. With subjunctive, *Serm.* I, 1, 86-87, where *praestet* is due to a kind of Oratio Obliqua after *miraris*, i.e. 'Do you wonder if (because), as you say, no one shows affection for you?' 2. With Indicative, *Epist.* I, 12, 12; I, 15, 39-40. In two instances *si* retains its full conditional force, *Epist.* I, 17, 26: *A. P.* 424-425. Cf. also *gaudeo si* (*Serm.* II, 3, 272-273), *satis est si* (*Serm.* I, 4, 116).



*Sin* does not occur in Horace. In several instances *si* is found with the force of *sin* where one condition is opposed to another (*Serm.* I, 3, 6; *Epist.* I, 5, 6; I, 10, 43; I, 12, 7; I, 17, 11; II, 1, 66). Twice when no expressed statement of condition precedes, but with the implication of a condition (*Epist.* I, 2, 37-39; *Od.* III, 29, 53-56). In *Epod.* I, 5-6, the second condition is introduced by *si contra*. In *Serm.* II, 3, 74-76, *contra* alone, with omission of conditional particle, follows a preceding condition.

*Sic* is sometimes used, especially in petitions and prayers, to anticipate or resume a condition, upon the fulfilment of which a promise or wish is made, or a blessing invoked (*Serm.* II, 3, 300-302; *Od.* I, 3, 1-8). So with the *sic* clause following the clause containing the condition in *Od.* I, 28, 23-27. Once also the condition is explicitly stated in a following clause with *si* (*Epist.* I, 7, 69-70). *Ita* is used in a like manner in *Serm.* II, 2, 124-125.

The paratactic conditional structure occurs in the writings of Horace in all moods and tenses except the Imperfect Indicative.

18. An Horatian Gloss, by Dr. William E. Waters, of New York University.

C.G.L. 5, 236, 9 contains the gloss *proelium orant et proelio ditam caleno tum bibis uuam pro vino dixit*, which Landgraf, *Archiv* 9, 407, has correctly emended to *Prelum: Horatius: et prelo donitam Caleno | tum bibis uuam: pro vino dixit*, This means that *prelum* is a word used by Horace, the passage in which it occurs being then cited, and that in that passage *uuam* is used for *vinum*. Neither Keller nor any other of the Horatian editors has taken account of this gloss in attempting to settle the vexed question whether *tu* or *tum* is the correct reading before *bibis*.

Agreeing with Lucian Müller (ed. Goetz, 1900) we may hold that Horace's Ode I, 10, is a blunt and frank reply to Maecenas, who had warned Horace that he expects to visit him at his Sabine farm; cf. Cruquius' commentary: *Maecenas iturus in Apuliam significavit Horat'o ei se ante profectionem convivam esse velle — de profectione in Apuliam mentio fit in Divaei codice*. Down to the concluding strophe the spirit and thought of the ode are somewhat like this: You are intending to visit me? Well, you must take me as I am; you shall have cheap Sabine and plenty of it, its only virtue being that it was decanted by myself, the year all Rome rejoiced over your return to health. Here follows the concluding strophe, in which, adopting the reading *tum bibis* (emend. to *bibes*) of the gloss, the thought is: Then when you have finished your visit you shall find a better wine on your journey; there are plenty of better quality.

All the Horatian Mss. and Porphyrio read *tu*; but Porph. on Sat. 2. 2. 48 quotes this passage from *Od.* 1. 20, reading *tum* in all probability, and not *tu*. In their first edition of the Odes, K. and H. have *tum*; in the Epilegomena, K. argues for *tu*, and this is his reading in the second edition of the Odes. In such uncertainty the gloss with its lectio difficilior has great value. It is far more likely that if *tum* was actually written by Horace the gloss should show *tu* than that if he used *tu* it should show *tum*. *Tum*, "thereupon," moreover contrasts the time in the two futures, and removes the necessity of Keller's emendation of the verb to *bibas*. For *tum* = "thereupon" in Horace, cf. Zangemeister's index. *Mca*,



which follows in the same line, is no argument for the necessity of a preceding antithetical *tu*; cf. Odes 2. 17 ad fin.

*Reddere victimas  
Aedemque uotiuam memento;  
Nos humilem feriemus agnam.*

19. The Temple of Ζεύς Βῆλος, Herodotus I. 181, by Professor H. C. Tolman, of Vanderbilt University.

According to Herodotus, Babylon was divided into two parts by the river Euphrates; in the midst (*ἐν μέσῳ*, not a gloss) of one section lay the "royal palace," in the midst of the other the temple of Ζεύς Βῆλος.

From the inscriptions we learn that the two principal sanctuaries of Babylon were Esagila (*Borsippa Inscr.* I. 15, *et passim*) and Ezida (*Borsippa Inscr.* I. 19, *et passim*): the former, sacred to Marduk (*Borsippa Inscr.* I. 16), lay within the walls of Babylon (*Borsippa Inscr.* I. 23); the latter, sacred to Nabû (*Borsippa Inscr.* II. 16), was at Borsippa (*Borsippa Inscr.* I. 27), the sister town of the metropolis (*Tin-Tir II Kan Ki*, "second Babylon" K. 4399, obv. 24). In such veneration were the two temples held that "restorer of Esagila and Ezida" (*Zani in E-sag-ila u E-si-da*) became part of the royal title (*Borsippa Inscr.* I. 7). To which of these sanctuaries did Herodotus refer?

The East India House Inscription (E. I. H. VII. 36) shows that Esagila was closely connected with the royal residence. Again, from the term Βῆλον βασιλεια of Clitarch we infer that a palace structure, probably an addition of later kings, was joined immediately with the sanctuary (Baumstark, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, sub voce Babylon*). Nabopolassar had erected a palace near Esagila from Imgur Bêl to the East Canal and from the Euphrates to the festal street, A-a-lbur-sâhû (E. I. H. VII. 36-63). Nebuchadrezar built a new structure (E. I. H. VIII. 54) between the bastions Imgur Bêl and Nimiti Bêl (E. I. H. VIII. 53), which was joined with the older edifice (E. I. H. VIII. 50), and which towered mountain-like over the city (E. I. H. VIII. 63, *Īu-ur-ša-ni-iš*). Late reports from Dr. Koldewey (*Mittheilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*) connect the ruins *El Kasr* with this palace of Nebuchadrezar, and the adjacent mound *Tel Amran* with the temple Esagila. Adorned glazed tiles, reliefs from the palace wall, and bricks stamped with the name of Nebuchadrezar, confirm such an identification (cf. *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 19 Mai, 1900.) There is no doubt that it was to Esagila that Clitarch and the authority quoted by Strabo (XVI. 738) referred, for by the phrase τὰφος τοῦ Βῆλου of the Strabo citation we must understand the temple's pyramidal terrace, E-temen-an-ki (*E-temen-an-ki zi-ku-ra-at Babili*, *Borsippa Inscr.* I. 23).

We cannot accept the common hypothesis (Hommel, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*; Baumstark, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*) that Herodotus under the term "temple of Ζεύς Βῆλος" designates Esagila. Our historian expressly stated that the sanctuary lay on the opposite river-bank to that of the palace. On this bank was Ezida, the massive temple of Borsippa adorned by Nebuchadrezar (as he himself relates, E. I. H. III. 36 fg.) with gold, silver, precious stones, and bronze. The inscription found in the corners of the terrace



tower E-ur-imim-an-ki (*E-ur-imim-an-ki zi-ku-ra-at Bar-sip, Borsippa Inscr. I. 27-II. 30*) has long ago identified the mound Birs Nimrud with Borsippa (*I. R. 51*; cf. Oppert, *Exp. Mésop. I. 212*). That this temple is the sanctuary of Ζεὺς Βῆλος described by Herodotus appears from the following considerations:

(1) The identification of the *El Kasr* mound on the *eastern* bank places the temple on the *western*. (2) Herodotus speaks of the sanctuary as in the *middle* of its section of the city. After the destruction of the walls of Babylon and Borsippa by Darius it would seem to a foreigner that both localities formed *one* town, an error that could easily occasion Herodotus's exaggerated estimate of the size of the metropolis. (3) The layers of the débris at Borsippa show clearly a division into stories such as Herodotus (as well as Harpocration) describes. (4) Herodotus's measurements of the tower at its base (185 m.) correspond with those of the Borsippa terrace as given by Rich, Oppert, Ker Porter, Layard. The description of the great temple at Babylon by Harpocration (according to a newly published manuscript, de Mély, *Académie des Sciences*) gives a terrace tower of seven stories with its base 186 m. square (*Académie Inscr. 1900. Cf. Revue Archéologique, Nov.-Dec. 1900, Vol. 37*). (5) The designation Ζεὺς Βῆλος for Nabû of Ezida presents no difficulty, since the application of the title Bêl (Lord) to other gods than Marduk is abundantly proved by the inscriptions (cf. Winckler, *Untersuchungen, Leipzig, 1889*).

In fact, later results seem to justify the view which we have earlier accepted (Nikel, *Herodot und die Keilschriftforschung*; Tolman and Stevenson, *Herodotus and Empires of the East*), that Ezida of Borsippa and the temple of Ζεὺς Βῆλος are identical.

Adjourned at 12.45.

On Wednesday afternoon, July 10, the members of the Association enjoyed a delightful excursion in Boston Harbor as guests of Harvard University.

#### EVENING SESSION.

The Association assembled at 8.15 P.M.

20. A Study of Browning's *Agamemnon*, by Dr. Curtis C. Bushnell, of Syracuse University.

In the preface to his *Agamemnon* Mr. Browning says:—

That he has been literal at any cost save that of absolute violence to the English language; that this conservatism is all for which his perhaps fruitless adventure claims praise; that he expects the result of his work to be very hard reading if meant to resemble Aeschylus.

This plan is consistently executed.

The spelling of the original is followed, as Menelaos (42), Meneleos (674).

Idioms are often literally rendered, as 1, 962.

In almost every line the word-order is imitated,—the leading peculiarity of the translation.

Sometimes the result is ambiguous, as 1102.

However, chiasmus is well rendered, as 113, 519.



The effect of repetition in the corresponding parts of lines is reproduced, as 34, 35; 863, 874.

So with synonymous expressions in the corresponding parts of successive lines, as 5-7.

So with two adjectives, one preceding, one following, the noun modified, as 734; 219, 220.

The word-order is reproduced in preference to the construction, as 2; 300, 301.

The iambic trimeter is rendered line for line except in two cases, the trochaic tetrameter invariably. Stichomythia is preserved.

The iambic trimeter is rendered by the English heroic line with double ending to reproduce the extended effect; trochaic tetrameters are rendered by trochaic tetrameters; the choruses by rhymed lines of irregular length.

Curious results follow from the combined influence of the English rhythm and of the retention of the word-order, as 37, 1373.

Repetition is rendered by repetition, as 971-4, 299-300.

The variety of the Greek is reproduced, as in the interjections of Cassandra's speeches. Etymologies are rendered, as 121, 1232, 1346. Plays on words are brought out, as 686 ff., 699. Amplification is almost absent.

The translation is in point of clearness very uneven, as 737 ff., and considerably more obscure than the original, — a fact chiefly due to the retention of the word-order.

The unfavorable criticism evoked (*Living Age*, 190: 564: *American Supplement to Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Robert Browning": *Edinburgh Review*, 147: 409 ff.) would have been greatly tempered if allowance had been made for Mr. Browning's motive. This was variously assigned by the critics, as: —

1. "To compensate for the inexactness of other translators" (*Edinburgh Review*, 147: 409 ff.). This consideration had weight, as the preface shows, but the work might have been exact without its remarkable peculiarities.

2. "To show that as a dramatist Aeschylus is inferior to Euripides" (Mrs. S. Orr, *Handbook to Works of R. Browning*, p. 119). In that case Mr. Browning would have given the writings of the two a similar treatment.

3. "To rebuke claims made for the Greek authors as models of literary style" (Mrs. S. Orr, *Life and Letters of Robert Browning*, Vol. 2. See under year 1877). But Mr. Browning, in his preface to the *Agamemnon*, expresses the hope that this work may give evidence that "the Greeks are the highest models of expression."

4. "To disparage the *Agamemnon* and Aeschylus" (*Edinburgh Review*, 147: 409 ff.). But elsewhere Mr. Browning frequently mentions Aeschylus in terms of praise. He is "godlike," his works are "marvels" (*Aristophanes' Apology*); he is classed among "the tragic triad of immortal fames" (*Balaustion's Adventure*); the "song which saved at Salamis" is "veritable Aeschylus . . . old glory" (*id.*); "How please still — Pindar and Aeschylus!" he exclaims (*Epilogue to Pacchiarotto*); the "lore" which tells the story of

"that king

Treading the purple calmly to his death,"

is an "old delight" (*Pauline*).



The real motive is stated by Mr. Browning himself when he calls the work "a perhaps fruitless adventure"; in other words, an experiment. This experiment, so consistently carried through, was the natural sequence of his earlier translations, the *Alkestis* and the *Herakles*.

The *Alkestis* (published in 1871), the *Herakles* (1875), and the *Agamemnon* (1877) are three stages of an intensifying endeavor to reproduce the original in its entirety, particularly by adherence to the word-order, the *Herakles* being intermediate in fact as well as in time. The *Alkestis*, a far closer rendering than at first sight appears, paraphrases more freely than the *Herakles*, a quite exact translation, while the *Agamemnon* is almost absolutely literal. The *Alkestis* makes no distinction in rhythm between dialogue and choral passages, translating both by the heroic line; the *Herakles* and *Agamemnon* come closer to the Greek effect, translating choral passages by rhymed lines of irregular length. The *Alkestis* and *Herakles* are alike in employing the heroic line to translate the dialogue, while the *Agamemnon* adds a syllable for the reason stated above. In the *Alkestis* 51% of the stichomythia is translated line for line, in the *Herakles* 97%, in the *Agamemnon* 100%. A study with reference to line for line translation and word-arrangement of 1200 lines selected from the dialogue of all parts of the plays, 400 from each play, shows the following results. Of those from the *Alkestis* 30% are rendered line for line; of those from the *Herakles* 40%; of those from the *Agamemnon* 85%. For the same 1200 lines the number of lines of translation with precisely the same word-order as the text, — disregarding post-positive particles and prepositions following their cases, — is: of the 400 of the *Alkestis* 7.5%, of the 400 of the *Herakles* 17.5%, of the 400 of the *Agamemnon* 35.5%.

I conceive that Mr. Browning — having with great success in the *Alkestis* and *Herakles* gone far in strict literalness, especially in fidelity to word-arrangement and line for line translation — determined as an experiment to proceed in the same manner and to the very limit with this new play.

The experiment proves that to reproduce the Greek word-arrangement involves less violence to the English language than is usually thought. But in the *Herakles* Mr. Browning had already gone as far as was possible in this direction. For the reason that in them, as in their originals, content and form are harmonized, the *Herakles* and *Alkestis* represent Euripides more truly than the more literal *Agamemnon* does Aeschylus.

## 21. Notes on the Nominative of the First Person in Euripides, by Professor Mortimer Lamson Earle, of Barnard College, Columbia University.

The subject treated were more accurately designated as the substantival nominative of the first person in Euripides. The current doctrine of the nominative persons in Greek is concisely put as follows in Hadley-Allen, § 603, a: "The only nominatives of the *first person* are ἐγώ, νώ, ἡμεῖς; of the *second person*, σὺ, σφώ, ὑμεῖς; all other nominatives are of the *third person*." But what should be said of such nominatives as θεὰ Κόρινθις in *Hipp.* 2? Such self-introducing and self-identifying nominatives of proper names as subjects of verbs in the first person are to be found also *Androm.* 5, 1232, *Hec.* 3, 503, *Troad.* 2, *Bacch.* 2. In view



of several of these passages one might be tempted to speak of such nominatives of proper names as autobiographical nominatives of the first person; but such a designation would be too narrow. One naturally thinks of the familiar Latin "vita" form: *Natus sum Iohannes Schmidt Berolini*, where the prehenx of an "ego" by the writer is distinctly a *πάρεργον*. But this is in modern Latin; an instance or instances from the classical language may be found cited in a paragraph (1031) of the late Professor Lane's Latin Grammar, which might well, it should seem, find its parallel in Greek Grammars. (To the examples in Lane 1031, which includes both the first and the second person, might be added Virg. *Aen.* 2, 677 sq.; 9, 22; Hor. *Carm.* 3, 1, 3-4; 3, 9, 7-8; *Ep.* 9, 11; 16, 36; 17, 35.) — But attention is to be drawn here to several passages of a different sort in Euripides, some of which may be corrupt, some of which are commonly misinterpreted. In *Alc.* 167 sq. we find *μηδ', ὥσπερ αὐτῶν ἡ τεκοῦσ' ἀπώλλυμαι*, | *θανεῖν δώρου παιδας, κτέ.* This is the commonly — and justly — received text. But S (= L and P) reads not *ἀπώλλυμαι*, but *ἀπώλλυται*. On this variance in reading the late Mr. Hayley has an excellent note *ad loc. cit.*, in which, however, I should be inclined to substitute the words 'could be — in the emendator's opinion — directly the subject' for "could be directly the subject." In *Alc.* 317 sq. we read without variance in the verbs: *οὐ γάρ σε μήτηρ οὔτε νυμφεύσει ποτὲ* | *οὔτ' ἐν τόκοισι σοῖσι θαρσυνεῖ, τέκνον* (text of S in 318). Here Lenting alone seems to have taken offence — and Lenting was no mean judge of Greek. In his *Epistola Critica*, p. 58, he writes: "Placeret mihi, νυμφεύσω — θαρσυνῶ. Vid. Musgrav. ad vs. 165." Musgrave's parallel is, I believe, that given by Monk on v. 167, viz. *Androm.* 413 sq. The latter passage is closely parallel to *Alc.* 167, but it may well be thought that both it and that passage are sufficiently close to *Alc.* 317 sq. to justify Lenting's suspicion that the first person is what Euripides wrote there. We shall then have three — or at least two — cases of a designation of a parent used by that parent as subject of a verb in the first person. In *Med.* 926 Jason is made by Prinz to say of himself *εὐ τὰ τῶνδε θήσεται πατήρ*. Here *εὐ τὰ τῶνδε* and *πατήρ* are very plausible; hardly so *θήσεται*. Why may we not keep *θήσσομαι*, which has support in the Mss.? (See Dr. Wecklein's critical notes.) May we not also in *Med.* 915 fairly suspect that Euripides may have written not *ἔθηκε* but *ἔθηκα*, and *ibid.* 918 *ἐργάζομαι*? And in *H. F.* 1368 is not *ἀπώλεσ'* to be understood as *ἀπώλεσα* not *ἀπώλεσε*? — We come now to several instances of what may be called the genuine first person plural subject. A good typical instance of this is *Hipp.* 450 *οὐ* (sc. *ἔρουν* = *ἔρωτος*) *πάντες ἐσμέν οἱ κατὰ χθὺν ἔκγονοι*. (Like to this is *τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ κάλλιστόν ἐσμεν ἀνθρωποι*, 'we human beings are the fairest of God's works on earth,' Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* 1, 21.) The following two examples from the *Medea* are commonly misunderstood and misinterpreted: *Med.* 406-408 *πρὸς δὲ καὶ πεφύκαμεν | γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν ἔσθλ' ἀμχανώταται*, | *κακῶν δὲ πάντων τέκνες σοφώταται*, 'and besides by nature too we women are for good deeds most awkward, but of all evil deeds most skilful artisans.' (Here M. Weil rightly: *Ἰνναῖκες est le sujet, et non le complément, de πεφύκαμεν*.) *Med.* 889 sq. *ἀλλ' ἐσμέν οἷόν ἐσμεν — οὐκ ἐρῶ κακόν* — | *γυναῖκες*, 'but we women are what manner of thing we are — I will not say out and out a bad thing.' As a parallel for the second person may be added in conclusion *Med.* 569-573 — particularly 569 sq. *ἀλλ' ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤκεθ' ὥστ' ὀρθομένης | εὐνῆς γυναῖκες πάντ' ἔχειν νομίσετε*, 'but you women are come



to such a pass that you think that when wedlock goes smoothly you possess everything.'

22. As to Caesar's Personal Culture: his Affinity for Menander, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of New York University.

I.

The truth as to the more eminent characters of ancient history should be in the care and keeping of classical scholars. Still, our own generation is hardly affected by the direct contributions of professional or professed scholars—a notable exception being B. I. Wheeler's recent study of Alexander. We should more earnestly strive to write for the many. Froude, *eg.*, in a special plea *Caesar, a Sketch*, 1880 and since, has influenced the opinion of our time in the English-speaking world, about Caesar, more, probably, than all the minute research bestowed upon the tradition of the autocrat. The English historian says: "The vision on the Rubicon with the celebrated saying that 'the die is cast' (*sic*) is unauthenticated (*sic*) and not at all consistent with (*sic*) Caesar's character" (c. xxi.). The tradition is in Plutarch, *Caes.*, 32, and Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, ii. 35. Their juxtaposition will render unnecessary any comment on their material consonance and on many elements of verbal resemblance:—

Appian: δρόμῳ δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ρουβίκωνα ποταμὸν, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἔστη τοῦ δρόμου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἀφ' ὧν περιεφέρετο τῇ γνῶμῃ, λογιζόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν εἰ τόνδε τὸν ποταμὸν σὺν ὅπλοις περάσειε. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ἀνεγκῶν "ἡ μὲν ἐπισχεσις, ὧ φίλοι, τῆςδε τῆς διαβάσεως ἐμοὶ κακῶν ἀρξεί. ἡ δὲ διάβασις, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. . . . Καὶ εἰπὼν οἱα τις ἐνθους ἐπέρα σὺν ὀρμῇ, τὸ κοινὸν τὸδε ἐπειπὼν, ὁ κύβος ἀπερρίφθη."

Plutarch, l.c.: καὶ λογισμὸς αὐτὸν εἰσῆγε μᾶλλον ἐγγίξοντα τῷ δεινῷ καὶ περιφερόμενον τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τολμωμένων ἔσχετο τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ διήνεγκε σιγῇ τὴν γνῶμην ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι μεταλαμβάνων, καὶ τροπὰς ἔσχεν αὐτῷ τότε τὸ βούλευμα πλείστας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πωλίων Ἀσίνιος, συνδιηπόρησεν, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἡλικίων κακῶν ἀρξεί, ὅσον τέ λόγον αὐτῆς τοῖς αὐτοῖς (ἀνθρώποις); ἀπολείψουσι. τέλος δὲ μετὰ θυμοῦ τινὸς ὥσπερ ἀφείς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς εἰς τύχας ἐμβαλόνουσιν ἀπόρους καὶ τολμὰς προοίμιον (παροίμιον) ὑπειπὼν "ἀπερρίφθω κύβος," ὥρμησε πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν.

The briefer item of Plut. in *Pompey*, 60, seems to be essentially a restatement of the Caesar passage, with a slight elaboration of psychological *Motivierung*: we note the important specification 'Ελληνιστί: καὶ τοσοῦτον μόνον ἑλληνιστί πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας. . . . Pollio's *Historiae* (*Geschichte meiner Zeit*) are palpably designated by the words τῶν φίλων τοῖς παροῦσιν ὧν ἦν καὶ Πωλίων Ἀσίνιος. The young staff officer of twenty-six to twenty-eight was no historical



figure in February, 49 (December, 50, solar year). We, too, think it likely that he did not extend his *periculosum plenum opus aleae* (Hor. *Carm.* II. 1) beyond Philippi, 42: this would give substantially (60, or 59-42 B.C.) one year per book, meaning not a little detail. Why Peter has not reprinted the Plut. passage in his *Fragmenta* I fail to see, particularly when I look at the bulky transcriptions; e.g. from Dionysius for "fragments" of Fabius Pictor. Kornemann (*Die historische Schriftstellerei des C. Asinius Pollio, Jahrb. Suppl.* Bd. XXII., 1896, p. 601) not only considers this a Pollio fragment, but censures P. for emphasizing his presence on the occasion. We fail to see that this was *ungeschickt* as coming from the ex-consul and triumphator who was eminent enough to refuse himself to Octavianus Caesar for the Actium campaign. In 43, during the *bellum Mutinense*, he was propraetor of Hispania Ulterior, and a weighty piece on the chess-board of the political game,—an advancement swift even in that era, due to Caesar's confidence. The instinct of self-preservation had urged him to become a partisan; his native disposition—love of letters, etc.—would have preferred peace. See the passage in Cic. *Fam.* X. 31, § 3, *Caesarem vero, quod me in tanta fortuna modo cognitum vetustissimorum familiarium loco habuit, dilexi summa cum pietate et fide.* This fits well into his own Rubicon narrative. Consider the *modo*. Now let us return to the Greek apophthegm. I marvelled for some years that neither Meineke nor Kock on Menander 'Αρχηγόρος, fr. 1, had appended the parallel fr., Plut. *Caes.* 32. I learned, however, that Professor Gildersleeve had marked the matter in his copy of Meineke. Long ago Casaubon, in editing Sueton. *Julius*, 32 (Geneva, 1595-6) [the question being as to *iacta est* (or *esto*) *alea*, the Mss. all reading *est*], suggested that Plutarch translated Caesar's dictum by availing himself of a Menandrian reminiscence. Casaubon very properly quoted the entire line *Δεδογμένον τὸ πρᾶγμ', ἀνεπρίφθω κύβος*. The unprejudiced reader will notice, however, that Plutarch, though possessing a most intimate acquaintance with Menander's production, failed to realize the Menandrian reminiscence.

Pollio's narrative gives to Caesar the cadence of an iambic senarius (which Appian cites awry) perhaps as much as Pollio caught of it [Plut. *Caes.* ὑπειπών]: the entire line admirable fitted the situation. Leutsch's *Paroemiographi* have little of dice; I have found but this, I., p. 43, *del γὰρ εὖ πλπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι*. The form *ἀνεπρίφθω* [not *ἀνέπριπται*] is also strikingly suggested in Petronius' mock-epic, v. 174, *iudice Fortuna cadat alea*. As in Menander the speaker wishes to have the worry of irresolution at an end, so Caesar, anything but a Hamlet by natural disposition, had reached the point where doubt and calculation had become intolerable: thus the reminiscence from his favorite Menander, probably audible (*ὑπειπών*) only to those very close to his person, forced itself to his lips with perhaps unconscious adaptation to the psychological moment. I emphatically disagree with Kornemann (p. 621) or Drumann (III. 420) who endeavor to resolve the matter into vapor; the latter particularly is full of his own subjective dogmatism as elsewhere.

## II.

The familiarity of Caesar with Menander was not at all equally shared by all educated Romans of that generation, Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, XI., p. 498) and Ovid (*Tristia*, 370) notwithstanding. In the easy and direct utterances of



Cicero's literary sympathies, *i.e.* in his letters, Professor R. B. Steele (*Am. Journ. of Philol.* XXI., p. 394 sqq.) counts fifty-six passages of Homer-citation, with occurrence also of Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, but not one dictum of Menander, sententious though he was above all others. But for a Caesar, I believe the points of contact, nay affinity, were boundless. I refer to Caesar's fondness of ἀποφθέγματα: the practical politician well knew that, as Menander has it, ἀνδρὸς χαρακτήρ ἐκ λόγου γνωρίζεται (cf. Suet. *Jul.* 56, Cic. *Fam.* 9, 16, 4). Above all, Menander is completely emancipated from any prejudices of any religious or philosophical nature in dealing with human society. The πούς is the arbiter of the universe, and convenience is the supreme law of ethics: περινοεῖν πάντα, as Aristoph. said of his *bête noire*, Euripides (*Ran.* 956—the word is overlooked in Dunbar's *Concordance*), is a characteristic of his conscious follower, Menander, who equalled him in acumen, but infinitely surpassed him in the sunny temper of his genial nature. I must content myself here with merely alluding to Caesar's verses on Terence and Menander (critical edition of Suetonius' *vita* of T. in Ritschl's *Opuscula*, vol. III., p. 204 sqq.), a judgment in which the "fifty per cent Menander" fell so far short of the *Comica virtus* of the great Attic delineator. Caesar was entirely unburdened with any moral ideals (Mommsen and Froude notwithstanding), whether in political or social morality; I name Curio, Servilia, Cleopatra, and pass on. (Froude naively desires to substitute Arsinoë as the *regina* in Cicero's letters of 44.) All is concluded and determined by this life on earth: "eam (*sc. mortem*) cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse" (Sall. *Cat.* 51), and so in Menander's Ἐπιτρέποντες 5 (Mein.). Providence is denied exactly in the manner of his friend and συνέφηβος Epicurus:

οἷε τοσαύτην τοὺς θεοὺς ἀγειν σχολήν  
ὥστε τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὰ γαθὸν καθ' ἡμέραν  
νέμειν ἐκάστω, Συμπλήρη; cf. Ἡνίοχος, fr. 1.

Δεισδαίμων fr. 1, also Θησαυρὸς fr. 1, and particularly Καρίνη fr. 2: *Assurance* and *Force* are the supreme deities:

ὦ μέγιστη τῶν θεῶν  
νῦν οὔτ' Ἀναλίδει, εἰ θεὸν καλεῖν σε δεῖ,  
δεῖ δέ· τὸ κρατοῦν γὰρ νῦν νομίζεται θεός.

And thus Caesar himself, in his political intoxication between the Munda-campaign and the Ides of March, clearly acted as one who knew of, and believed in, no other god but himself, τὸ κρατοῦν. . . . See in Dio Cass. 44, capp. 3-7, the enumeration of the gradual deification of the autocrat—logical consequence, we admit, of pagan *Weltanschauung*—though even Suetonius and Dio (Livy?) suggest that he brought thus the catastrophe of March 15, 44, upon his own head. I conclude this note with an admirable observation by a former president of this association, Professor Perrin, *Ethics and Amenities of Greek Historiography*, 1897, "Periodical attempts will always be made to strip from historical tradition the accretions due to fancy and the desire for pleasant form. But each age must do its own work here. It will not be satisfied with the work of any previous age. Even the ultimate facts of history will be constantly restated."

Remarks were made by Dr. Sanders, and by the author in reply.



23. Notes on the Greek *Θεωρός* and *Θεωρία*, by Dr. Clarence P. Bill, of Western Reserve University.

This paper appears in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*.

Adjourned at 9.30 P.M.

#### MORNING SESSION.

CAMBRIDGE, July 11, 1901.

The Association assembled at 9.40 A.M.

The Secretary of the Association having been called away from Cambridge, Professor Harold N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University, was appointed Acting Secretary.

The reading of papers was then begun.

24. Irregular Forms of the Elegiac Distich, by Professor Kirby F. Smith, of the Johns Hopkins University.

This paper is published in full in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXII. (1901), 165-194.

25. The Metrical Reading of Latin Poetry, and The Treatment of Elided Syllables in Latin Verse, by Professor H. W. Magoun, of Redfield College.

For the sake of brevity these two papers were presented together.

The mechanical scansion of Latin poetry is happily passing away. The reaction is toward a metrical reading, although this fact is but dimly recognized. On every side the two things are confused. Scansion, indeed, is even defined as 'a metrical reading.' Is it, in fact? An English stanza may be dealt with in three ways: it may be scanned, it may be read without regard to its metrical form, and it may be treated as poetry. The first makes it ridiculous; the second reduces it to prose; the third brings out its beauty. The last alone is a natural treatment, and the reading must be metrical. Cf. Lanier, *Science of English Verse*, Chap. III. Is it not time that these three things were clearly and sharply differentiated?

Lanier (*l.c.* pp. 107-117) correctly assumes that the difference in poetry observed in the reading of different persons is merely a difference in the distribution of the elements, the number of time units in the bar remaining the same. But he implies that the bar in question is determined by scansion; for that he obtains his results, with a few exceptions, on such a basis, even a casual examination of his book must show. Is the bar so determined? The great bulk of English poetry from Chaucer down is scanned in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time. Cf. Lanier, *l.c.* pp. 182-184. Not a line of it can be read in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, however, unless it is given a scornful character. This fact is so significant that it deserves a paper by itself. The time used is not even  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; it is  $\frac{2}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Any one with a fair metrical ear can verify this statement if he can read with any expression, and has the patience to test the matter with the time beats.

Just here caution is needed. Three-time beats must follow the sides of an



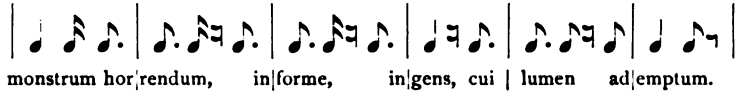
equilateral triangle, and follow them without interruption. If a slight pause is admitted after the third beat, or if the triangle is allowed to become isosceles with a narrow base, or has a loop added at the top, the movement has ceased to be three-time, and has become two-time in character. On this subject, much confusion prevails. If a pure Trochaic movement (as scanned) be read with sufficient deliberation to consume approximately the sixth part of a second in passing from syllable to syllable, or from word to word, the bar has become  $\text{♩} \text{♩}$ , instead of  $\text{♩} \text{♩}$ , and is in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time. It may still sound Trochaic, and the pauses will escape all save trained ears; but the lines will demand the two-time beats. The foot has practically become the 'Irrational Choree' of Aristoxenus. Cf. *Transactions*, Vol. XXIII., pp. 172 ff. Other changes may occur. Longfellow's "Psalm of Life" is universally classed as a simple Trochaic movement in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time. It is so scanned; but, when read with expression, — the scheme excludes sentence accent and therefore does not admit expression, — every foot in it becomes either an Epitrite or some modification of an Epitrite in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time. Was the Epitrite, then, a reading foot? And which gives the true metrical form of the poem, the scansion which makes it ridiculous, or the reading which brings out its beauty? Even the most dignified audience will laugh at an English poem if it is scanned. Why should they, if that gives its true metrical form? Is scansion anything more than a convenient artificial means of measuring a given amount of verse material? Pacing is hardly the same thing as walking. Is scansion the same as reading? Shakespeare, like Mother Goose (cf. Lanier, *l.c.* pp. 186–188), shows too great a freedom of composition to have been modelled on a scheme. Will scansion give the metrical character of his lines as he felt them? There is no "jingle" in his compositions. For years I have wondered why my own verses (not intended for publication) have so often seemed mechanical. It is because a scheme has dominated them.

In spite of their surface differences, Latin and English poetry are, in the last analysis, surprisingly alike. There seem to be certain fundamental laws underlying all poetry, which, while thus far eluding the efforts made to formulate them, — scansion only partially does so, — are still universally recognized even by the ears of a child. As a boy, I became convinced that the Romans pronounced their words alike in prose and poetry. The 'elided' syllables, however, made a logical difficulty due to the schemes. I could not then surmount it; but a metrical reading in which the words are pronounced as in prose meets every objection. The one thing needed is the recognition in practice of a well-established fact. Long syllables are not all alike. Neither are short ones; and if a defective long is combined with a defective short the two together will readily occupy a 'period' in simple movements. They form a natural *τροχαῖος δισημος*, 'two-timed Trochee,' not an artificial one. Cf. Schmidt, *Ryth. and Metr.* (White's tr.), § 13, 3, and § 14, 3. For seven years, with and without my students, I have been experimenting along these lines. My studies have embraced every form of verse common to the two languages, in both Latin and Greek. I have searched in vain for trustworthy material to overthrow my conclusions. I have found much to establish them. Lack of space forbids details. Suffice it to say that my work lies outside of and beyond the field of modern metrics. It is a domain that has often been given up in English verse. It is full of delightful surprises to the



patient observer. The one help needed is that of the ancient metricians, the time beats.

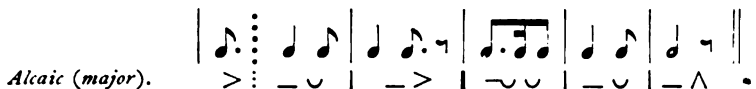
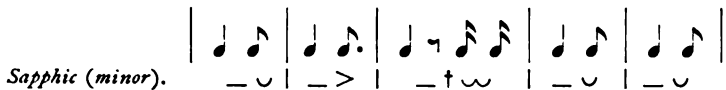
A single line must suffice to illustrate the application of the principle, mentioned above, to 'Elision' in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time. It should be noted that 'elided' syllables, to be pronounced at all, must have a time value. It should be normal.




In this instance the time is unchanged; it is the same as in scansion. The feet are changed; but the bars remain equal, the longs all sound long and the shorts short, the defective short of the first foot occupies the same relative time and place as the Caesura of the fourth, the fifth foot is a Cyclic Dactyl (see below), and the second and third show that two defective shorts can be combined with two defective longs in the same bar. Correption may be used. The order in which the shorts and longs occur is immaterial. It will change the character of the movement, but not the time. This cannot be too carefully noted. Three shorts (one or more defective), or even four shorts (all defective), may be combined with a long (rational or defective) in the same bar. The balance is always maintained by the 'still times' if anything is lacking. These points cover nearly all the supposed irregularities of both Latin and Greek hexameter verse. The use of musical notation does not mean that singing methods are to be used in reading. The values are:  $\text{♩}$  and  $\text{♩}$  (rest or pause) = 1;  $\text{♪}$  and  $\text{♪}$  (rest) = 2;  $\text{♫}$  = 3;

$\text{♩}$  and  $\text{♩}$  (rest) =  $\frac{1}{2}$ ;  $\text{♪}$  =  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , etc.

Other simple movements offer no particular difficulty in 'Elision' or in time relations, except such as are due to the present schemes. Logaoedics are more complicated. The present schemes can hardly be taken seriously. They are said to be in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time. Their movement, if this be true, can perhaps be most readily apprehended through the medium of the six-eight drum taps. Their avowed purpose is to secure equality of the bars. Do they do it? The authorities all agree that a pause is an integral part of the bar. A strong Caesura or Diaeresis is usually allowed about a third of a second, or an eighth rest ( $\text{♩}$ ). But such a pause effectually destroys the equality of the bars as now represented. This fact will appear if the schemes be rewritten in musical notation. Take, for example, three typical lines, putting a variable pause (I) in its most common position.

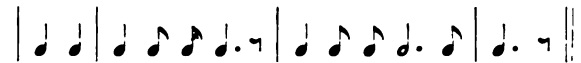




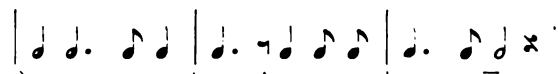
There are other difficulties beside the pauses. The bar  $\_ >$ , as represented by the authorities, is in  $\frac{7}{8}$  time, not  $\frac{3}{4}$ . It could be written in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time as 

a notation hard to follow, the ratio being 7 : 5, instead of 4 : 3 as now. This point can be met. The measures which contain the pauses, however, cannot be so readily disposed of. Unless the 'rest' of the first line is made equal to a full bar (about a whole second),—a thing never done in practice, as the beats will show,—it must go into the preceding measure. This makes a bar in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time; for the syllable  $\_$  is not shortened to  $\_$  in practice. The fact is that, even in scanning, balancing pauses between the words—too brief to be noticed—and similar 'holds' on certain consonants are usually inserted throughout the line, and the time used is  $\frac{3}{4}$  instead of  $\frac{3}{8}$ . It is an easy matter to deny this in theory (cf. Schmidt, *l.c.*, § 11, 8); but the time beats will show it. Moreover, Aristoxenus is good authority, and he—quoted by Psellus—seems to justify just such 'still times' (cf. *Trans.*, Vol. XXIII., p. 168). In the second line, the bar containing the pause is clearly in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, while the corresponding bar of the third line is in  $\frac{7}{8}$  time. By reducing the pause one half, it becomes  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; but this does not give equality of the bars, unless the other measures are modified. The only alternative is the suppression of all such pauses. Cf. Schmidt, *ibid.*, and § 29, 6, III.

If, however, the syllables are accorded the same treatment as in the hexameter,—such a consistency is not too much to demand of any system,—the difficulties will disappear. There will be two apparent exceptions: a short 'elided' syllable may be slightly prolonged, and the third element of metrics ( $\_$ ) must be recognized as such (see below). It occurs in the hexameter; but can there be ignored (see below). The resulting schemes represent a metrical reading, not scansion. Three other schemes (from Servius and Masqueray) are added for purposes of comparison.

  
*Asclepiadean (minor).*  $\_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup \cup \wedge | \_ \cup \cup \cup \cup | \_ \wedge$   
 $\_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup \_ | \_ \cup \cup \_ | \cup \_$  (Servius.)

  
*Sapphic (minor).*  $\_ \cup \_ | \_ \wedge \cup \cup \_ | \cup \_ \_ \bar{\_}$   
 $\_ \cup \_ | \_ \cup \cup \_ | \cup \_ \cup$  (Masqueray.)

  
*Alcaic (major).*  $\_ \_ \cup \_ | \_ \wedge \_ \cup \cup | \_ \cup \_ \bar{\_}$   
 $\_ \cup \_ | \_ \_ \cup \cup | \_ \cup \cup$  (Masqueray.)

In these reading schemes everything is provided for, and there is absolute equality of the bars; for the divided bar in the first line—marked by the  $\parallel$ , the musical hyphen so to speak, and regularly completed in the next line—is strictly in keeping with modern musical methods and with the usages of English poetry.



Another arrangement without divided bars is possible. In practice, if the scheme of Servius be allowed as much latitude as those now in use actually receive, can any one doubt that it will result in a reading identical with the one proposed? After the initial Spondee and the following Dactyl, can the ear fail to demand a balancing such as is indicated in the musical notation given above? Again, in the schemes of Masqueray (*Traité de Métrique Grecque*, pp. 279 and 283), with their six- and seven-time bars, will the ear fail to secure a balancing by prolonging some consonant (there is no need of turning a final *s* into a hiss), or by introducing a pause, — always in keeping with the sense, — as is often done in English poetry? But if his schemes are based on Hephaestion, as he seems to imply (cf. *Préface*, p. xii.), is their resemblance to my own merely an accident? And what about that of Servius? In reading, is there not a natural tendency to hold for an instant the final consonant of the third syllable of the Sapphic? If so, the time must be  $\frac{3}{4}$  as indicated; for the first bar becomes  $\_ \cup \_$  and cannot be divided, since the next syllable also tends to be prolonged in the same way, and pauses cannot be ignored. The other bars must correspond. The irregular verse accent occurs in English and in music. In the greater Alcaic, a similar lingering seems to occur naturally on the second syllable (rarely on the first), or its place is taken by a brief pause. The result is a bar in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time. The feet are Epitrites or some modification of an Epitrite. The Choriambus of the first line above ( $\_ \cup \cup \_ \wedge$ , not  $\_ \cup \cup \_$ ) is merely a syncopated fourth Epitrite ( $\_ \_ \_ \wedge$ ) with one resolution. Was its value in Latin ever essentially different from this? The form  $\_ \wedge \cup \cup \_$  is not essentially different; for it is made up of the same elements with the two shorts in the same relative position. In feet of this character, a variable pause offers no difficulty whatever. Cf. Schmidt, *l.c.*, § 11, 8, and § 29, 6, III. For scansion purposes, if scansion is desired, a few slight changes will allow fundamental feet (Spondees, Doric Trochees, etc.) in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time to be used, and the schemes can be taken seriously.

In Logaoedic measures, 'elided' syllables produce a resolution of some kind. If connected with a third element ( $\_$ ), the result may be two defective longs or a short and a long (see below, third and last lines). A few examples will illustrate the principle, which never fails to satisfy the ear: —

<i>Asclepiadean</i> ( <i>minor</i> ).		Maece' nas      atavis             edite      regil' bus,
	O et   praesidium      et             dulce      decus      me' um,	
	Sunt quos        curriculo             pulverem      Olympi' cum	
	Colle' gisse      iuvat;        metaque      fervi' dis	

— Hor. I. i. 1-4.



Alcaic strophe. — Fertur Prome|theus, addere | princi|pi

Limo coac|tus particu|lam undique

De|sectam, et insa|ni leonis

Vim stomacho apposu|isse nostro.

— Hor. I. xvi. 13-16.

The notation used follows the natural utterance wherever it varies from the schemes. The bars remain constant in time value, however, and relative syllable values are not disturbed. The fourth line is normal. There is always a slight margin of variation for individual preferences in a metrical reading, provided no real violation is done to quantity. The last line of the Alcaic strophe usually begins with the foot  $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup$  (the same combination occurs as two feet in the hexameter). It is a fourth Epitrite with two resolutions, instead of the three in the example given. Has this any bearing on the so-called Dactylo-Epitrictic measures of Pindar? Can he have mixed Dactyls in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time with Epitrites in  $\frac{3}{4}$ ? But the other schemes rule out sentence accent and admit only the singsong scansion of the schoolboy; for any change in the relative values of the Ictus syllables changes the time and with it the scheme. May it not be that he was really the greatest master of the Epitrite that ever lived?

Plautus and Terence must be briefly mentioned. It is well established that their lines were taken in dipodies. Why? Modern metrics cannot satisfactorily answer this question. Cf., however, Schmidt, *l.c.*, § 26, III. But if the feet were Epitrites and Dispondees, with an occasional Antispast, etc., it needs no answer. Moreover, if the hypothesis that the feet were of this character is once admitted, the difficulties, inconsistencies, and metrical emendations which now clog the pages of these authors will vanish forever from their lines. The time will be  $\frac{4}{4}$  as in Logaoedic measures. In neither case is there anything new or strange involved. With hardly an exception, the time relations demanded by my theories, are in common use in modern hymn books. They were in common use more than a hundred years ago, as is shown by a hymn book, published in 1789, which is now in my possession. I have heard some of them in Armenian music. They may well be a common possession of the race, and antedate even Homer himself.



Much more ought to be said for the sake of clearness. It cannot be said here. A few things cannot be omitted in justice to myself. A Spondee with the value  $\text{—} \text{—}$  is 'irrational,' and the product is a natural one; for the symbol  $\text{—}$  seldom means that a vowel is prolonged — never unless the syllable is open. It usually indicates that some consonant is used as a glide, although it represents the normal value of a syllable like *mōns*, containing a long vowel in a strong position. The



English line, "Cannon to right of them," is read (not scanned) as  $\cup - \cup | - \cup \cup$ ; but the *o* of cannon is not prolonged. The length is in the final *n*. Cf. the *syllaba anceps*. Here again there is much confusion.

At the beginning my results were purely empirical. They are so no longer. The presence of defective longs and shorts in the hexameter, discovered with the time beats, was afterward found to be justified by the observations of Aristoxenus and the experiments of modern phoneticians. The eight-time, rather than seven-time, character of the Epitrite, discovered in the same way, was soon found to agree with the opinion of others, and the difference in details does not vitiate the principle. My schemes, which have resulted from a long-continued brooding over the lines themselves, while testing them in every possible way by thousands of experiments with the time beats, find some support in their resemblance to other schemes apparently ancient, although this was not suspected until after my own had crystallized. Moreover, some of my students, who had a delicate metrical ear, — as shown by poetical compositions, etc., — but had never been taught to scan, instinctively fell into the same movements after a little practice in reading. In the hexameter, this was especially noticeable. They correctly inserted the Caesuras without being told to do so. Were their other instincts false?

The assumption that the Cyclic Dactyl occurs in the hexameter appears to be amply justified (cf. *Trans.*, Vol. XXIII., p. 172); and my objections to its

accepted form (, a Cretic rather than a Dactyl; for it is simply  $\cup - \cup$  — put into half the usual time) seem to be in perfect keeping with the passage upon which the foot is based, Dion. of Hal., *De Comp.*, 17. According to this authority, the long syllable of the foot is 'irrational' or 'defective.' He says that it is 'shorter than a full period,' *βραχυτέραν . . . τελείας*, which implies that it occupies less time than the two shorts. But the long of the accepted form, if taken seriously, occupies exactly the same time as the two shorts, and the foot might be written better as , which is a Dactyl. Is the long syllable 'irrational'? There is nothing here which can be used against my position. In a few instances it has seemed as though I had found evidence against it. An Antispast in Aeschylus, discovered before I had noticed the foot in the grammars, an Amphibrach, encountered (in a half bar) in Horace before I had any other means of knowing that such a foot existed, and a Dochmius in Terence, met with before I knew that the Romans recognized such a foot, seemed, in each instance, to upset my theories. The issue could not be dodged with honesty. It was not necessary; the testimony of the native grammarians removed the difficulty.

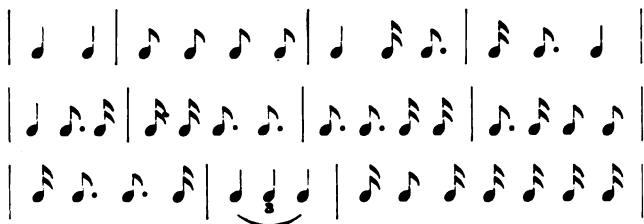
The value assumed for the Cretic above makes it normally a foot of six-times. It has long been my conviction that there were no feet of five-times, as a matter of fact, Donatus (Keil's edit., p. 370) to the contrary notwithstanding; but that the Cretic and similar feet really showed the same general characteristics as the Epitrite. Of this I now have substantial evidence. But these feet and the Dochmius, concerning which I have equally radical views, must be left for another occasion. Be it observed, however, that  $\frac{5}{8}$  time is exactly 'half as much again' as  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, the *γένος ἴσον*; and, curiously enough, if a Cretic in  $\frac{5}{8}$  time be taken as the unit, an Epitrite in  $\frac{4}{3}$  will be exactly 'one and a third' times as great. The assumption that the value  $\cup$  was an element, rather than a product of Syn-copation, finds its justification in Plato (*Rep.* 400 a), who says that there are



three elements of metrics (naturally  $\cup$ ,  $\_$ , and  $\sqcup$ ). In the same connection (400, cf. also 398 *d*), Plato says, and repeats the statement, that the metre must conform to the words. In scansion the opposite is true. Did they, in practice, know anything about such a scansion?

The use of all four of the Epitrites, called for by the proposed schemes, is justified by the testimony of the native metricians and by musical usages as well. Even the second and third Paeons, which appear in a metrical reading of the hexameter as feet of four-times — made up of a defective long and short, and two shorts — can be justified. In all these matters, as has been already intimated, my results were obtained by experiment before I was acquainted with the literature, except so far as it is contained in the grammars. They were so radical that I could not at first accept them, and began a search for evidence in rebuttal. Up to the present time the evidence found, with scarcely an exception, instead of furnishing grounds for rejecting my conclusions, is distinctly in their favor. Is this a mere accident? And if my schemes, although apparently supported by native evidence, are merely my own 'subjective impressions,' what shall be said of the schemes of those who either ignore or definitely reject the same evidence?

Finally, is  $\frac{3}{4}$  time — the liveliest of waltz movements and the quickest time known to music, ancient or modern (about one second to the bar) — a suitable time for 'Prose-songs' or for conversation in verse? On the testimony of the ancients themselves, Iambics were in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, and had, therefore, only half this speed value. Why did Horace call his Iambics 'swift,' as if they were faster than his Logaoedics, if the latter had twice their speed? Is there any other time so prose-like as  $\frac{3}{4}$ ? Is there any other foot so prose-like as the Epitrite with its numerous (possibly fifty or more) variations, all of which are metrical, and all of which make a perfect medium for the use of sentence accent and rhetorical pauses? Cf. the pause before *meum* above, which gives a peculiar tenderness to the line. Is there room for reasonable doubt that the true basis for the teachings of the native metricians is to be found in a metrical reading? I close with an extreme illustration of the possibilities in time relations. The following bars are all in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time; but they contain the movement of the solemn Spondee, the trifling Proceleusmatic, the emotional Cretic, the excitatory Bacchius and Antibacchius, the jovial Ionics, the kaleidoscopic Epitrite, the wavering Antispast, the growling Molossus (each note has two-thirds its normal value), and a sample bar of the nondescript 'rag-time' of our street musicians, which is, however, but a possible variation of the Dochmius.



These bars represent four possible variations in the length of long syllables, which, as here arranged, the unaided ear, unless extremely delicate, would utterly



fail to detect. It would simply note a change in the speed of utterance; but the longs would all sound long, and the shorts short, although some longs would occupy the same absolute time as other shorts; for 'long' and 'short' are relative, not absolute, terms.

The Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer reported that it had discharged that duty and had found the accounts in all respects correct.

The Committee on Time and Place of the next meeting reported that the meeting would be held at Union College, Schenectady, New York, July 8, 1902.

The Committee on officers for 1901-1902 made the following nominations : —

*President*, Andrew F. West, Princeton University.

*Vice-Presidents*, Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin.

George Hempl, University of Michigan.

*Secretary and Treasurer*, Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University.

*Executive Committee*, The above-named officers, and

Mortimer Lamson Earle, Barnard College.

Harold North Fowler, Western Reserve University.

Francis A. March, Lafayette College.

Elmer Truesdell Merrill, Wesleyan University.

William A. Merrill, University of California.

The Acting Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for the persons named, and they were declared duly elected.

The following vote of thanks was presented by Professor Hart, and, on motion of Professor D'Ooge, adopted by a rising vote : —

*Resolved*, That this Association desires to make grateful acknowledgment of the courtesy and liberality with which it has been received at Cambridge on the occasion of its thirty-third annual session; and in particular to thank the Corporation of Harvard University for the provision made for its meetings, and for the reception and excursion which have added to the pleasure of the members; and also to record its appreciation of the thoughtfulness and success with which the arrangements of the Local Committee have been made.

26. Public Appropriations for Individual Offerings and Sacrifices in Greece, by Dr. Susan Braley Franklin, of Bryn Mawr.

This paper appears in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*.

The Committee appointed at the meeting in December, 1900, to deal with the nomenclature of certain scientific terms then made its report, which was read by the Acting Secretary.



*At the special meeting of the Philological Association held at Philadelphia in December, 1900, a communication from the United States Geological Survey was presented with the request that a Committee be appointed to deal with the subject. On motion it was voted to appoint such a Committee with instructions to report at the next regular meeting, to be held at Cambridge, July 9 following. The members of the Committee are as follows: Professor C. D. Buck, Chairman; Professor E. W. Fay, Dr. C. P. G. Scott, Professor E. S. Sheldon, Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann.*

*The Chairman of the Committee sent out to the other members copies of the communication from the United States Geological Survey, and invited an expression of opinion upon the general problem as well as detailed suggestions. Only two replies have been received. But, from these and from the failure of the others to respond, it is evident that the Committee is in substantial agreement with the conviction expressed in the Chairman's letter, that "it is unlikely that any artificial system of terminology such as might be devised by a body of men who are not geologists, would meet the requirements or stand any chance of general adoption." Although the philologist's advice on a specific point has often proved valuable to the scientist, it is believed that any attempt to create a totally new nomenclature must be undertaken, if at all, by the specialists of the subject in question.*

*But, as Professor Fay remarks, "In a world that belittles the classics and linguistic studies, if the philologists could render ever so little assistance to a body of scientists, it would seem worth the while." And certainly, in view of the official source of the request and the earnestness with which it is pressed, it is necessary to accord the matter some consideration, although the improbability of any valuable results is recognized at the outset.*

*The request of the United States Geological Survey is that new words should be suggested to take the place of the English terms now used, with more or less inconsistency of practice, to express three sets of categories, five in each set. Various methods of supplying these words may be adopted. One method, and apparently the one chiefly contemplated by the author of the communication, is to take from some language not now used in geological writings, actual words, which, if not corresponding in meaning to the English terms, are at least used with fixed rank in some sort of classification. The committee is relieved of the necessity of making suggestions along this line, owing to the fact that Professor Jackson (the request sent to the Philological Association had already been submitted to the Presidents of various Universities) has already suggested three sets of Sanskrit terms, one based upon the organization of the army (sēnā, camū, vāhinī, gulma, patti), one upon the organization of the community (rājya, nagara, grāma, kula, anga), and one upon divisions of the time (maha-yuga, satya-yuga, etc.). The adoption of these terms has been urged by Mr. Willis, Assistant Director of the Geological Survey and the inspirer of the communication before us, at a convention of geologists held in the past spring, but such adoption has been opposed by others, and the matter is still in abeyance.*

*But still another method is suggested by one of the statements in the list of desirable qualifications found in our communication; namely, that "if it can be accomplished consistently with brevity, the words might be variations with a single root where prefixes or affixes indicate relative rank." To attain such a result, one would be obliged to no longer confine oneself to actually existing words, but create*



with a free hand. From the point of view of the philologist, there is no more objection to this than to the use of actual words of other languages such as the Sanskrit words suggested by Professor Jackson; for the latter, as applied to Geology, are purely artificial.

An example of this method is furnished by Professor Fay, from whose letter I quote as follows: "I have bethought myself of the following volapukish system for the three groups of five: —

LITHOLOGICAL.	FAUNAL.	TEMPORAL UNITS.
samā lith or samāstrāt	samājāt	samāyug or samākāl
amā lith or amāstrāt	amājāt	amāyug } etc.
mā lith etc.	mājāt	māyug } -yuj
ālith	ājāt	āyug }
lith	jāt	yug }

"It meets most of the conditions suggested by Mr. Wolcott, but whether they are vocable is a subjective consideration. The words average two syllables and five and a third letters. The same basal words (lith, 'stone,' or strāt, 'stratum'; jāt, 'sippe', living creatures; yuj: yuga, 'age') might be made to serve by putting the English vowels, a, e, i, o, u, before them in order."

For another scheme along the same general line one may make use of three monosyllabic elements for the three classes, and for the subdivisions add the suffix -ade, seen in English decade, with variations in vowel. So: —

lithade	faunade	chronade
lithede	faunede	chronede
lithide	faunide	chronide
lithode	faunode	chronode
lithude	faunude	chronude

An objection to this would be perhaps its resemblance to the terminology of chemistry.

It must be understood that such suggestions, which might be multiplied, are not advocated by the Committee, but merely offered as specimens. It is not clear to the Committee that the contemplated complete overthrow of the old nomenclature is practicable or desirable. Experience shows that reforms in terminology are brought about gradually. An effort to obviate the worst faults of the present system would seem to give far greater promise of practical success. The chief objections to the present system seem to be two. One is that several terms appear as names of subdivisions in more than one of the classificatory groups, e.g. System, Series. But the addition of two or three new terms would relieve this. The other objection is that many of the terms are words which are needed for common use in a non-technical sense, e.g. Formation. But such a difficulty can be obviated in printed discussions by the use of capitals or other typographical devices.

The Committee, believing that nothing profitable will result from any further deliberations on its part and that the matter is best left to the geologists, asks to be discharged.

CARL D. BUCK, Chairman.

On motion of Professor G. F. Moore the report was accepted and the committee discharged.



27. The Gesture of Supplication implied in *γουνούμαι*, *γουνάζομαι*, *γουνῶν λαβεῖν*, etc., in Homer, by Professor Arthur Fairbanks, of the State University of Iowa.

While in general it is characteristic of the Homeric poems that actions are pictured with great definiteness, the student finds difficulty with one scene in the first book of the *Iliad*. 'Thetis,' we read, 'sat down before Zeus and laid hold of his knees with her left hand, and with her right hand grasping him under the chin, she addressed him. . . . ' The attempt to realize just how this was done is a little disappointing, and the result, to say the least, is extremely awkward. The Blacas gem representing this scene illustrates the curious posture Thetis must take, when she sits down and grasps a standing man under the chin with one hand, and about his knees with the other.

As a matter of fact the poet seems to have combined two gestures in quite an arbitrary manner. To grasp a man under the chin is an act of familiarity permitted in the family; by this gesture a wife or child might affectionately demand the attention of the head of the family. To lay hold of the knees is an act frequently mentioned in Homer in battle scenes, and it appears indirectly in the words *γουνούμαι* and *γουνάζομαι*. I wish to throw out the suggestion that Thetis 'beseeches' Zeus himself in this way, because this was the way in which men were wont to present their petitions to images or symbols of the gods.

One gesture from family-life, and another from religious practice, when they are combined arbitrarily, produce, as one might expect, an awkward result.

The phrase 'to grasp the knees' and the fuller phrases 'to grasp the knees beseeching' or 'to beseech grasping the knees' occur again and again, most frequently with reference to men in battle asking for mercy. Of the verbs *γουνάζομαι* and *γουνούμαι*, which refer to the same act, the former is usually applied to men who 'beseech' other men; only once (A 427) does it preserve the literal meaning 'take by the knees.' *γουνούμαι*, on the other hand, ordinarily keeps this literal meaning when it is addressed to men (Φ 74, χ 310 f., 344 f.); but when the object of the action is a god, it means 'beseech' (ζ 149, δ 433) or 'pray vowing . . . ' (κ 521). The phrase 'come to the knees of' a god (ε 449, ν 231) may be interpreted as referring to the same act; and it should be remembered that the destiny of man 'lies on the knees of the gods' (P 514).

The method of supplication indicated by these phrases is to sit (as Thetis did), or kneel, or throw one's self on the ground, and grasp the knees of the person addressed; and the emphasis is always laid on the latter act. Two things seem to me clear: (1) it is not easy to discover any rational meaning for the act when a defeated warrior grasps the knees of the man who is about to slay him, in order to gain his mercy, and (2) this act is a perfectly natural method of asking the protection of the gods.

I. I believe it is perfectly reasonable to ask the meaning of a gesture, because in most instances the meaning is so evident. To kneel or prostrate one's self is to place one's self in the power of an opponent in battle, and at the same time to acknowledge his superiority; to raise the hands is an equally simple method of throwing one's self on the mercy of an opponent. On the other hand, to grasp the garment or leg expresses one of two things: either the desire to attract a man's attention, or the desire to get into some connection with



him. Just as clasped hands symbolize a union between parties of equal rank, so clasping the knees would suggest the union of a weaker with a stronger party.

Neither of these natural explanations of the act will apply to the cases where it occurs in Homer. The verbs *γουνδφομαι* and *γουνουμαι* make it clear that the emphasis is laid, not on the humbling of a man before his enemy, but on the fact that he makes an earnest request of him. We are forced to ask how or where such an act can directly express supplication.

2. The clew to the answer is found in two passages already referred to, which speak of 'coming to the knees' of a god (ε 449, ν 231). When a man prostrated himself and grasped an altar, a temple post, or in particular some object which symbolized the god himself, he would 'supplicate' the god with exactly the gesture under consideration. The representations of the act in art are of course centuries later, but they give the later Greek interpretation of the act; they show a man (more often a woman) either laying hold of an altar, or grasping the knees of a divine image, ordinarily a "Palladium." Here the meaning of the act is clear and simple. The man, prostrate or kneeling, *seeks some connection* with the god such as will avert from himself a threatening evil. If the verbs *γουνδφομαι* and *γουνουμαι* meant to 'grasp the knees' of a Palladium or of some even ruder sacred object, it is a very short step to the meaning 'to supplicate' or to 'worship.'<sup>1</sup> Thetis grasps the knees, not of the divine image, but of Zeus himself. And when the verb once means to 'supplicate humbly,' it is not at all strange that the poet should use the verb — and the practice suggested by the verb — in describing a defeated warrior asking for mercy.

If the practice originated as I have suggested, the question might be asked whether it was ever actually followed in war, or whether it was simply a part of the epic poet's apparatus. That question I prefer to leave with the simple statement that 'grasping the knees' is abnormal and meaningless in war, unless it has brought over its meaning from the sphere of religion.

The main objection to the suggestion I have made would probably be the fact that the images of the gods play so small a part in the Homeric poems. But it hardly seems fair to insist on this objection in view of two things: (1) a temple image does play an important part in one book of the *Iliad* (Ζ) which by no means belongs to the latest part of the poem; and (2) the treatment of the gods in Homer is such that the poet could not lay stress on their images. They are important actors in the poems, and this fact alone would account for the general silence about material images of the gods.

Instead of admitting the force of this objection, I should argue that the equation 'to grasp the knees' = 'to supplicate' is one more reason for believing that rude objects representing the gods were more common than is usually supposed in the time of the poet himself. In addition to the divine images mentioned in *Iliad* Ζ and Σ, certain epithets are applied to gods which would most naturally arise in connection with divine images, — and, I would add, the natural method of seeking the divine protection by grasping the image of the god seems to have been common enough so that the word describing it has come to be the regular word for supplication in time of need.

<sup>1</sup> A friend calls my attention to a passage in the New Testament, *Ev. Mat.* 28 8; the two Marys, when they recognized the risen Jesus, "came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him."



28. Is there still a Latin Potential? A reply to Professor Hale, by Professor H. C. Elmer, of Cornell University.

In my *Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses*, I expressed the view that it is doubtful whether the Latin subjunctive has the power of expressing ideas exactly corresponding to "may" and "can" in the sense in which these words are used in sentences like "it may be true," "he can sing." In the present paper I wish to consider the arguments urged by Professor Hale (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. XXXI., p. 138) against my position.

Under section 1, Professor Hale says that, in translating Horace's *neque enim quivis . . . describat* by the sentence 'for it is not every (any) chance poet that would succeed in describing,' i.e. 'would successfully describe,' I myself virtually acknowledge that *describat* means 'can describe.' This is the sort of logic which my article on the Latin potential was intended to combat. To say that a man "would successfully describe" something is *not*, in my judgment, to "say" that he "can describe it." "Can describe" merely states that the ability to describe exists; it gives no information whatever about the actual occurrence of the act itself. "Would successfully describe" definitely states that the act itself would as a matter of fact be performed. To be sure, "would successfully describe" implies that the speaker knows that the ability exists. But no statement can be made that does not have a similar implication. When I say "the man is reading," there is the most distinct implication that the man can read. The expression "would successfully describe" is in this respect on exactly the same footing as "will successfully describe," "is successfully describing," etc. These assertions all alike presuppose the ability to describe, but they are made, not for the purpose of giving information as to whether the ability to describe exists, but solely for the purpose of stating whether the ability that is known to exist would be, will be, or is being, brought into play.

Under section 2, Professor Hale argues that it is at any rate clear that there is in Latin the exact kind of construction that I deny for the *aliquis dicat* type, viz. *forsitan dicat*. Elsewhere in the present volume I have, I think, made it clear that *forsitan dicat* is in reality a very different kind of construction. But, says Professor Hale, whatever be the origin of the construction with *forsitan*, "the total effect of *forsitan* plus a Subjunctive is Potential." That is true, but exactly the same thing may be said of the total effect of *fortasse* plus an indicative. *Fortasse dicet*, 'perhaps he will say,' practically amounts, in its total effect, to 'he may possibly say,' but that is no reason for saying that the indicative *dicet* 'he will say' expresses possibility. Everything else that Professor Hale says in this section is based upon the erroneous supposition that my reason for interpreting *aliquis dicat* as commonly meaning 'suppose some one should say' was that it could be used as a protasis. My reason was rather that no instance of a supposed may-potential subjunctive could be found where it was not used as a protasis.

In section 3, Professor Hale admits that he can cite no sure instance of the supposed potential subjunctive that is not logically a protasis. But he thinks he finds two probable instances. In one of these (*Ov. Am.* 3, 15, 11), nearly all editors agree in reading *aliquis dicet*, which is much more in harmony with the context (cf. *dicar*, vs. 8). Even if *dicat* is adopted, it seems better in the context



to regard it as a subjunctive of wish. Indeed, Roby (p. cii) classifies it as a sure instance of the subjunctive of wish — this, too, on the very same page on which he interprets most of the other instances of *aliquis dicat* as meaning "some one may say." The other supposed instance is found in Cic. *Brut.* 50, 189. Cicero has just said or implied that any one of our ancestors who wanted an advocate would have chosen either Antonius or Crassus. The implication is that these two orators were equally great and there would have been no choice between them. Cicero then says, *utrum de his . . . (optaret), dubitasset aliquis; quin alterum (optaret), nemo*, 'which of these two orators he had better choose, one would have been in doubt; but that he was to take the one or the other of them, no one (would have been in doubt).' *Dubitasset* is clearly an invariable quantity in the sentence. Still, while admitting that with *nemo* it must mean 'would have doubted,' Professor Hale says that with *aliquis* it probably means 'might have hesitated.' And this is the clearest instance of a *might* potential that Professor Hale can cite in support of his contention!

All that Professor Hale says under section 4 is based upon his claim that *aliquis dixerit* and *aliquis dicat* stand nearer each other in type than do *aliquis dixerit* and *fortasse aliquis dixerit*. Such a claim seems to me so manifestly unfounded that I cannot understand how Professor Hale can make it. No one, so far as I know, either in ancient or in modern times, has ever regarded the modal force of the verb in *fortasse aliquis dixerit* as differing in the least from that found in *aliquis dixerit* (without the *fortasse*). But there has been no such agreement regarding the alleged identity of modal usage in *aliquis dixerit* and *aliquis dicat*. Indeed, many eminent scholars in England regard *aliquis dixerit* as, beyond all doubt, a future-perfect indicative, and therefore far removed in type from *aliquis dicat*.

Under section 5, Professor Hale argues that a construction once freely used may become limited in its functions. I certainly should never think of controverting such a manifest truth as that. But the question at issue is whether *aliquis dicat* is a case of this sort; and a mere statement of the truth just referred to aids not at all in the solution of this question.

The rest of Professor Hale's paper is devoted to a criticism of my methods of work and my general attitude toward syntactical investigation. In my article on "The May-Potential Use of the Subjunctive" I laid down as my guiding principle one that seemed to me so self-evident as to need no defence whatever. It was this: that no separate class of uses should be recognized for a mood, unless there is at least one passage, somewhere in the literature, that cannot be satisfactorily explained in any other way, or at least one that can be better explained by this means than by assigning it to some one of the indisputable subdivisions of the mood.<sup>1</sup> Professor Hale says that by adopting this principle I show a "radically false conception of the proper method of approach in the study of syntactical problems." I have followed Professor Hale's work in syntax closely enough to find myself quite unable to believe that he really means by these words what he seems to say. I believe that in Professor Hale's entire scheme for the Latin subjunctive there is not a single class of uses which he recognizes for any other reason than that he has found instances of the subjunctive that he thought he

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller expression of the principle, see my article above referred to.



could more satisfactorily explain by assigning them to such a class than in any other way. If there are in his scheme any subdivisions that he has made for other reasons than this, I should be glad to know which ones they are. He illustrates the wrong conclusions to which this "radically false" principle may lead one by the use of the sentence *potest fieri ut pluat*. The use of the subjunctive in *ut pluat* after *potest fieri* he says must clearly have originated in an independent *pluat* used in the sense of 'it may possibly rain.' And the reason he gives for thinking so is that the subjunctive *cannot be satisfactorily explained in any other way*. In reaching his decision he is thus guided, just as I expected him to be, solely by the very principle I laid down. However, I am not at all ready to admit that his explanation of the clause *ut pluat* is the true one. This *ut pluat* clause can be more naturally explained in exactly the same way as *ut pluat* in the clause *fiet ut pluat*, which is also a common type.

Professor Hale next accuses me, wholly without reason, of ignoring in my discussion the evidence presented by Greek. No one, I am sure, realizes more clearly than I do the importance of the comparative method of studying syntactical problems. But, while recognizing the importance of this method, I also believe that Latin syntax is full of problems that can be settled without help from any other language; and I still believe that I was entirely justified in regarding as such a problem the question whether *aliquis dicat* in Latin means 'some one may say,' or 'suppose some one should say,' or 'some one would say.' The comparison made by Professor Hale between my own words and those of the hypothetical professor of comparative philology, proceeds from an entirely false conception of the nature of the question I was discussing. Let me recall what the question was. There were some few instances in Latin of such expressions as *aliquis roget*, *aliquis dicat*. I had found that either one of two interpretations would satisfy the sense in every instance. In most cases the choice lay between 'some one may ask (or say),' and 'suppose some one should ask (or say).' Whether I used sound judgment in thinking that the latter of these interpretations made as good sense as the other is, for our present purpose, immaterial. We are now discussing my methods of work, not the justice of my interpretation of individual passages. I had found that there was no sure evidence that the subjunctive is ever used in Latin in any sort of expression in the sense of 'may possibly,' but that the other interpretation, 'suppose some one should ask' rests upon a use of the subjunctive about which there can be no doubt whatever. This in itself inclined me to adopt the latter interpretation. But in addition to this I found that certain expressions, which are universally recognized as representing the same use of the mood that is involved in the interpretation 'suppose some one should ask,' are very similar to *aliquis roget*, *aliquis dicat*, e.g. *roges: respondeam* (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 21), where every one interprets *roges* as a volitive subjunctive meaning 'suppose you should ask.' I found, still further, that the ancient commentators Donatus and Eugraphius, whose vernacular was Latin, expressly interpret the very expressions we are discussing, viz. *aliquis dicat* and *roget quis* (i.e. *aliquis*) in exactly the same way in which all modern scholars interpret *roges*, i.e. as meaning 'suppose some one should say,' 'suppose some one should ask,' without the remotest suggestion that any idea of possibility is involved.

Such were the conditions under which the choice between the two interpreta-



tions was to be made. In arguing against me Professor Hale says that the Greek shows that such expressions cannot be volitive suppositions, since Greek does not use the volitive in positive expressions in the second or third persons except in three or four instances. But even if there were no instances at all in Greek, that fact would not be of the slightest importance in our discussion. It is universally agreed that the volitive subjunctive *is* used in making suppositions in Latin, and used too in expressions very similar to those we are discussing. Again, approaching the matter from the opposite direction, Professor Hale finds in Greek certain instances of the optative in which he says no other interpretation is possible except 'some one may possibly say.' From this he concludes that, in Latin, *roget quis, aliquis dicat*, etc., must also be interpreted as *may*-potentials. But here again he ignores the fact that the volitive subjunctive is admitted by everybody to be used in Latin in similar instances, like *roges*, and the further fact that ancient commentators clearly interpret the other instances (*roget quis, aliquis dicat*, etc.) as having the same force as that universally recognized in *roges*. Be it remembered, too, that these ancient commentators were familiar with Greek, and therefore with the use of the Greek potential optative in the expressions in that language that are supposed to correspond to *aliquis dicat*. Here, then, is a condition of things which nothing found in Greek can possibly affect in the least. Our field of discussion is therefore narrowed down to the Latin. The fact that I referred to the corresponding phenomena in Greek shows that, far from ignoring the importance of comparative methods of study, I had carefully weighed the adverse evidence that might possibly come from that language, and decided that it could not alter my conclusions "*under the condition of things that I had shown to exist in Latin.*" If, however, I had felt that this question was one which could be settled only by the methods of comparative syntax, then I should have felt it incumbent upon me to go even further than Professor Hale has gone in his attempt to settle the question. I should not feel so sure as he does that a question that cannot be settled by a study of the Latin alone, *can* be definitely settled by a study of Latin and Greek alone. If I had found that there were only rare instances in Greek in which a volitive subjunctive was used as a protasis corresponding to the Latin volitive in expressions like *roges*, I should still want to know whether it was rare or common in other allied languages. And if I had chanced to find that in some other of these languages it was really very common in expressions similar to *roges, aliquis roget, aliquis dicat*, etc., I should have felt that those languages should be allowed to have considerable weight in deciding our question. In any case, I should not have felt justified in pronouncing my verdict, as Professor Hale has pronounced his, before all the important witnesses had been heard.

Remarks were made by Professor Hale, and by the author.

29. Leading Mood-Forces in the Indo-European Parent Speech, by Professor Wm. Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

The uses of the finite moods in our family of languages seem best explained upon the theory that, as Delbrück has held and taught, the Subjunctive originally expressed Will, and the Optative, Wish. But Delbrück has himself felt that his



account of the genesis of the derivative forces, as given in *Synt. Forsch.* I, was unsatisfactory. After more than fifteen years of a feeling approaching conviction, I wish to present a scheme that starts at his starting-points, but differs with regard to certain matters of subdivision and genesis.

Will, except in some of its figurative expressions, has to do with the future. The two ideas, Will and Futurity, necessarily vary in relative intensity in actual instances. At the extreme in one direction, the idea of Futurity becomes so much stronger than the idea of Will that, by one more step, it emerges as the sole force of the mood (thus far Delbrück). To this I should add that the process may actually be seen going on in English, in which "I will" is unhappily becoming the form of expression for simple futurity (as in "I believe I will be nominated").

Further, to the hearer, the idea of that which *is to be* is often of more consequence than the will of the speaker. Hence "I will" (Volitive) may easily, when *quoted*, mean nothing more than "he is going to." Compare English "you will," "he will," which, though using the mechanism of the expression of will, really in ordinary use convey the idea of Futurity.

The Optative, used to express something as desirable in every instance of a class, became the expression of a General Command or Prohibition, or, as I like better to name it, of Obligation or Propriety (thus far Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* I, and Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 573), as in σ 141. By a natural extension (not recognized, it would seem, by Delbrück) the mood was next applied to *individual* cases of Obligation or Propriety. Examples are frequent in Greek, as in υ 135, B 250 (both with οὐκ δν), Soph. *Antig.* 1194, and *Oed. Tyr.* 977 (both with τι δν). The use of οὐ and δν was due to the feeling that, in this construction, the mood was really the expression of a *statement*, or of a question corresponding to a statement.<sup>1</sup> The mood was next used to express the allied idea of Natural Likelihood or Probability, just as "ought," "should," and "sollte" may be used in English and German (as in "soon there should be white violets everywhere," *The Etchingham Letters*, I. Cf. Catull. 89, 4, and expressions like *quidni noverim*, "why shouldn't I know," "naturally I should know").<sup>2</sup> The weakening of this force led to the Potential use of the Optative (Optative of Possibility or Capacity), and the strengthening of it to the use in which it expresses Ideal Certainty (as in the ordinary Optative Conclusion in Greek).

The Volitive Subjunctive was also capable of developing the force of Obligation or Propriety, as in A 365. To the Roman consciousness, owing to the loss of mood-distinctions, the two constructions (Volitive and Optative) were fused into one. Latin shows *ne* and *non*, corresponding to μη and οὐ.

The forms from which what we call the Present Indicative is descended were the oldest verb-forms. They originally expressed merely action (or state) and person, without differentiation of mood or tense.<sup>3</sup> Compare the verb in Biblical

<sup>1</sup> My explanation seems to me to remove Brugmann's objection (*Gr. Gram.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 506, footnote) to the acceptance of Delbrück's interpretation of κ' εα in *S.G.D.* 1149, as an Optative of a general command, descended from the Optative of General Command or Prohibition in the parent speech.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the somewhat similar use of *debeo* and *oportet* in Latin to express something that must surely be, or have been, as in Lucr. I., 778.

<sup>3</sup> This view was quoted by a pupil of mine, Mr. J. P. Deane of Cornell University, in a thesis for the bachelor's degree ("Deliberative Questions, Indicative and Subjunctive, in Terence"), published in *P.A.P.A.* XXI., p. xxxv (1890), and was stated later by myself in "The Antici-



Hebrew and Arabic, which distinguished completed acts and acts in progress, but left the present, past, and future undistinguished; the Anglo-Saxon Present Indicative, which served also as a Future; and the Sanskrit Injunctive, which, whatever its origin, served both as a preterite Indicative and as an Imperative dealing with the future.

As the Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative came into existence, and then developed new powers, the sphere of the old verb-forms (Indicative) was narrowed, in the main, to what we now regard as Indicative functions. Certain of the primitive non-Indicative and non-Present uses, however, have survived in various languages, as in clauses with *dum*, *antequam*, and *si* in Latin (e.g. *antequam respondeo* = *respondeam*), and corresponding clauses in English and German.

This paper will be printed in full in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association assembled at 2 P.M., and listened to the reading of papers.

30. The Dating of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, by Professor William N. Bates, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The object of this paper was to determine as far as possible the date of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides. The writer tried to show that there is more evidence for settling the question than is generally supposed. Having noticed independently, as Christ, Bruhn, and Haigh had done, the general resemblance between the *Iphigenia in Tauris* and the *Helena*, he proceeded to show that this resemblance extended to the language used in many passages in the two plays.

The general points of resemblance between the *Iphigenia* and the *Helena* are these: 1. In each play an unusual version of the story is chosen. 2. In the *Iph. Taur.* Iphigenia explains who she is and how she came to be in the land of the Taurians. In the prologue to the *Helena*, Helen explains in a similar way how she came to be in Egypt. 3. In the *Iph. Taur.*, Iphigenia has a long dialogue with Orestes, in which she inquires about various members of her family. In the *Helena*, there is a similar dialogue between Helen and Teucer. 4. Iphigenia thinks Orestes dead, but learns from Orestes himself, whom she does not recognize, that he is alive. Helen thinks Menelaus dead, but learns from the prophetess that he is still living. 5. The scenes of recognition in the two plays are similar. 6. In each play the central figure in the plot to escape is the principal male character, and in each case the plans adopted are similar. Orestes is taken from the temple by Iphigenia, on the pretext that he is to be purified, while Menelaus accompanies Helen to make the last offerings to the pretended dead Menelaus. 7. In each play the suggestion is made that they kill the king, or that they try to escape by land or by sea. 8. In each case they

patory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin," University of Chicago Press, 1894 (reprinted 1895); but in both places it lacked its context in my scheme, and perhaps for that reason has not provoked discussion.



attempt escape by sea, and when pursuit is about to be started the *deus ex machina* appears. In the *Iph. Taur.* it is Athena, and in the *Helena* the Dioscuri. 9. Iphigenia is directed to spend the rest of her life at Brauron, Menelaus on the island of Helen, off the coast of Attica. 10. The chorus in each play consists of Greek captive maidens.

Besides these general resemblances, the plays are much alike in situation, thought, or language in many places. Compare, for example, the following passages: 1. *Iph. Taur.* 95-97 with *Hel.* 69-70. 2. *Iph. Taur.* 144-146 with *Hel.* 184-185. 3. *Iph. Taur.* 179-184 with *Hel.* 174-178. 4. *Iph. Taur.* 218-220 with *Hel.* 688-690. 5. *Iph. Taur.* 399-400 with *Hel.* 348-350; also *Hel.* 208-209 and 493. 6. *Iph. Taur.* 425-426 with *Hel.* 1117-1118. 7. *Iph. Taur.* 515-516 with *Hel.* 1250-1251. 8. *Iph. Taur.* 528 with *Hel.* 765. 9. *Iph. Taur.* 570-575 with *Hel.* 744-748. 10. *Iph. Taur.* 828-831 with *Hel.* 657-659. 11. *Iph. Taur.* 832-833 with *Hel.* 654-655. 12. *Iph. Taur.* 841 with *Hel.* 698-699. 13. *Iph. Taur.* 884-889 with *Hel.* 1041-1048. 14. *Iph. Taur.* 1020 with *Hel.* 809; also *Hel.* 1043-1044. 15. *Iph. Taur.* 1034 with *Hel.* 1051-1052. 16. *Iph. Taur.* 1061 with *Hel.* 830. 17. *Iph. Taur.* 1067-1068 with *Hel.* 1388-1389. 18. *Iph. Taur.* 1118-1122 with *Hel.* 417-419; also *Hel.* 510 ff. 19. *Iph. Taur.* 1134-1136 with *Hel.* 1459-1464. 20. *Iph. Taur.* 1140-1142 with *Hel.* 1478-1480. 21. *Iph. Taur.* 1161 with *Hel.* 664. 22. *Iph. Taur.* 1221 with *Hel.* 1405. 23. *Iph. Taur.* 1156-1233 with *Hel.* 1193-1300 and 1390-1450. 24. *Iph. Taur.* 1321 with *Hel.* 601. 25. *Iph. Taur.* 1334-1335 with *Hel.* 1549-1550. 26. *Iph. Taur.* 1345-1346 with *Hel.* 1534-1535. 27. *Iph. Taur.* 1386-1387 with *Hel.* 1593-1594. 28. *Iph. Taur.* 1427 with *Hel.* 1212. 29. *Iph. Taur.* 1446-1447 with *Hel.* 1662.

These numerous points of resemblance point to only one conclusion, namely, that the poet is intentionally imitating one play in the other. There is no difficulty in telling which is the imitation. The *Iphigenia in Tauris* is a much stronger play than the *Helena*, and on general principles the imitation is inferior to the play imitated. The *Helena* then is a reminiscence of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. This conclusion is further borne out by an examination of the passages mentioned above, and by the connection between the *Iphigenia in Tauris* and the *Orestes*. In the latter play the influence of the former is noticeable in several places. Compare, for example, *Ores.* 1075 ff. with *Iph. Taur.* 687 ff. This play then is also an echo of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Why should the poet desire to imitate the *Iphigenia in Tauris*? Because it was probably a successful play. Its reputation in later times is attested by Aristotle in the *Poetics*,<sup>1</sup> and by an inscription<sup>2</sup> recording its revival in the middle of the third century B.C., and perhaps also by the reference to it by Aristophanes in the *Frogs*.<sup>3</sup> The *Iphigenia in Tauris* then was brought out before the *Helena* which appeared in 412.

Further than this, attention was called to the fact that the plot of the *Ion* is not essentially different from that of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, but is not fully worked out. In a word, in each play the scene is laid at a temple in a foreign land where two people most closely related to each other — one a man and the other a woman — are brought together and recognize each other when one is about to be slain by the other. The writer argued that Euripides, after bringing

<sup>1</sup> Chaps. 11, 14, 16, and 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* III. (1878), p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> 1232 f.



out the *Ion*, saw that with a suitable subject the plot was capable of development into a very strong play, and that he found that subject in the version of the *Iphigenia* story which he adopted in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

The *Iphigenia in Tauris* then is later than the *Ion* and earlier than the *Helena*. As the *Ion* cannot be dated, this does not help a great deal. It is not likely that the play appeared very long before the *Helena*. The most probable date seems to be about 414 or 413 B.C.

Remarks were made by Professor Huddilston and by the author.

### 31. Some Explanations and Emendations to Livy, by Dr. H. A. Sanders, of the University of Michigan.

1) Livy 10, 30, 5, "sed superiecerere quidam augendo fidem, qui in hostium exercitu peditum milia *trecenta triginta*, equitum sex et quadraginta milia, mille carpentorum scripsere fuisse." I have given the number of foot-soldiers after the emendation of Hertz, but, of the best manuscripts, the Parisiensis and Upsaliensis, give XICCCXXX, and the Mediceus XCCCXXX. Alschefski corrected to XLCCCXXX, Niebuhr to deciens centena milia. The context demands a large round number, so Alschefski's attempt cannot stand, though paleographically the best. Hertz comes nearer to the manuscript reading than Niebuhr, but even his emendation left unexplained the first letters of the number in the best manuscripts (XI or X). Klinger (*De decimi Livii libri fontibus*, p. 42 f.) thinks these two letters crept into the text from the following XLVI milia of the cavalry. Yet the explanation is not sufficient, as we can see from Orosius, where Livy is expressly cited for this number. Compare 3, 21, 6, "Gallorum et Samnitium peditum CXL milia CCCXXX, equitum vero XLVII milia Livius refert et carpentarios mille in armis . . . stetisse." There is an error indeed in the same letters as in Livy, but here it could not have been suggested by the following number of the cavalry. Also we cannot doubt that we have what Orosius actually wrote, so the mistake is earlier than his time. Köhler (*sua ratione T. Livii Annalibus uti sint historici Latini atque Graeci describitur* . . . Göttingen, 1869, p. 97) would restore the reading of Orosius to Livy's text, but his attempt has found no more acceptance than that of Alschefski, and for the same reason; a round number is required. This inclines me to accept the emendation of Hertz, CCCXXX, as established by the agreement of Orosius and Livy; but it leaves unexplained the CXL of Orosius and the XI of Livy, which must also have had a common origin (the XI is plainly for XL). The difficulty is increased by the fact that Orosius did not draw directly from Livy, but through the *Epitome Livii*, a work composed about 30 A.D. (cf. my *Quellencontamination im 21. und 22. Buche des Livius*, Berlin, 1898, p. 49). As we cannot consider the letters CXL as a part of the original numeral, we must suppose them to have arisen out of some modifying word, as *ad, plus, amplius, etiam*, or *vel*; of these the last is the only possible one paleographically, and its comparative rarity in Livy would make the mistake of considering it a part of the numeral all the easier. In early Latin it is used to mean *even so many as*, and also *even so few as*; compare Plaut. Trin. 964, *vel trecentis*; Pseud. 302, *vel ducentae*; Pseud. 345, *vel quater quinis minis*. Livy has it in the sense of *even as few as* (cf. 9, 24, 7, *vel tres armati*), and so may well have used it in the other sense.



The corruption of *vel* into the CXL of the Orosius manuscript and the XI (=XL) of the Livy came about in consequence of the V carelessly made being read as X. This interchange is not uncommon in either square or rustic capitals. XEL was then read as a part of the numeral and corrected in the manuscript of the unabridged Livy by omitting the E. In the Epitome and Orosius the E was read as C and eventually corrected by transposition to CXL. That C and E were often interchanged in early manuscripts, compare Heraeus (*Quaest. crit. et palaeograph. de vetustiss. cod. Liv.*, Berlin, 1885), who cites over sixty cases of such interchange.

2) Livy 21, 5, 6, "Hermandica et Arbocala cartaeorum urbes vi captae."

This is the reading of the Colbertinus; the Mediceus has *cartoerum* corrected to *cartorum*. The emendation of Fr. Sanctius, which omits *carta* as a careless repetition of the last four letters of *Arbocala*, has found almost universal acceptance; yet it is difficult paleographically, and the result, *eorum urbes* in apposition with the proper names, is not in accordance with the style of Livy. This was seen by Gustafson (*De Livii libro XXI emendando*, Helsingfors, 1890, p. 8), who proposed to read *castra eorum*, omitting *urbes* as a gloss; but the *urbes* is in itself good and prevents us from reading *castra*. With names of towns which were not well known, Livy quite regularly appends or less often prefixes the words *urbs*, *oppidum*, *colonia*, *vicus*, *caput*, *castrum*, *portus*, *emporium*, etc.; but in the case of Rome he places *urbs* first, using *urbs Roma*, *urbs Romana*, or rarely *urbs* alone, but never *Roma urbs*.

*Urbs*, *oppidum* and *vicus*, when used with names of places as descriptive appositives, are generally unmodified; rarely an adjective modifier occurs, but only very seldom is the people or country indicated by a genitive or its equivalent (*ex* or *in* with the ablative). Out of some two hundred cases which I have examined, there are only fifteen in this last class, and in seven of these the use of the genitive is accounted for by the position or by the use of a descriptive adjective also modifying the appositive.

If the name of the people or country has been given in the preceding sentence, it is not repeated with *urbs*, nor is it replaced by a pronoun except in two cases (Livy 7, 9, 1; 19, 1), in both of which the context furnishes the occasion.

On the other hand, the words *portus*, *emporium*, *castrum*, *colonia* (except Roman), and *caput* regularly take a genitive modifier or its equivalent.

Relying on these stylistic principles I venture to emend the passage in question as follows: "Hermandica et Arbocala, capita eorum, urbes vi captae." The mistake *carta* for *capita* was especially easy for any one copying a manuscript in capitals. As examples of similar combinations of *urbs* and *caput*, I may cite the following passages from Livy: 26, 5, 4, "Cartalam, urbem opulentem, caput gentis eius;" 21, 61, 6, "Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat;" 10, 37, 4, "tres validissimae urbes, Etruriae capita, Volsinii, Perusia, Arretium." Compare also 21, 39, 4; 22, 32, 5; 26, 25, 8.

#### EXPLANATIONS.

1) Livy 21, 17, 9, "duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit."



There is a difficulty here in the *sescentos Romanos* which has not, so far as I know, ever been touched upon. The 600 are undoubtedly cavalry, but what relation do they bear to the rest of the army? Owing to the position of the words, they cannot be interpreted to mean the regular cavalry of the two legions, which Livy never separates from the infantry of the same (the one exception is 43, 12, 3; yet there the Romans are each time mentioned before the allies); when he gives the number of the legions without mentioning the foot-soldiers, the cavalry is regularly either expressed at in 21, 17, 8 ("duae Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu"), or is left unmentioned; cf. 37, 2, 4; 6; 9; 38, 35, 9; 39, 20, 1, etc. Yet note 22, 57, 10, "quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti"; also 41, 9, 3; 41, 14, 10.

We may be sure, therefore, that the 600 Romans in our passage are a special body of cavalry enrolled in addition to the regular number in the legions. The proper parallel is Livy 39, 20, 3, "duas praeterea legiones novas ex senatus consulto scribere iussi sunt et viginti milia peditum sociis et nomini Latino imperarunt et equites octingentos, et tria milia peditum Romanorum, ducentos equites." Cf. also 40, 36, 8.

Also our 600 were to serve in Cisalpine Gaul, and it is likely they were enrolled there, for additional cavalry was often furnished by the colonies of Gaul. Compare 44, 21, 7, "is VII milia civium Romanorum et equites CC iussus et sociis nominis Latini VII milia peditum imperare, CCCC equites, et Cn. Servilio Galliam obtinenti provinciam litteras mittere, ut DC equites conscriberet." Even more to the point is 41, 5, 9, "M. Junius consul ex Liguribus in provinciam Galliam transgressus auxiliis protinus per civitates Galliae militibusque coloniis imperatis, Aquileiam pervenit." In this army by Aquileia there were already hasty levies from the colonies of Gaul; compare 41, 1, 6, "repentina cohors Placentina." At the beginning of the second Punic war Roman cavalry could have been enrolled in Gaul only from Roman colonies, and we know from Asconius that there were knights among the colonists of Placentia, and so probably of Cremona also. Cf. in Pis. p. 3, "Placentiam autem sex milia hominum, novi coloni deducti sunt, in quibus equites . . . Deducendi fuit causa . . ." The number of knights is omitted in all manuscripts, though the word *ducendi* appears in Cod. Sozomeni. From this Kiessling-Schöll derived *ducenti*, while Orelli believed the number had simply dropped out and proposed to supply D. It is quite possible that *ducenti* stood in the parent manuscript of St. Gall, but Asconius must have written CCC or DC, probably the former, for the colonies were enrolled on a military basis, and the regular number of cavalry in a legion at this time was 300. The colony to castrum Frentinum had 3000 pedites, 300 equites (cf. Livy 35, 9, 8), and to Vibo 3700 pedites, 300 equites (Livy 35, 40, 5). Compare also Livy 37, 57, 8; 40, 34, 2. The large number of pedites enrolled for Placentia makes it possible, though hardly probable, that the colony was considered the equivalent of two legions. The knights received regularly twice as much land as the common soldier, and so would be called on for extra military service; in the case we have discussed they were assigned to the army in Gaul. This 600 cavalry would have belonged equally to Placentia and Cremona, i.e. 300 to each, so this passage of Livy confirms my emendation to Asconius.



32. Armenian Dialectology, abridged translation from the Russian of Dr. Lévon Msérianz, of the University of Moscow, with the author's kind permission and assistance, by Dr. Louis H. Gray, of Princeton University.

We must begin this sketch in the fifth century of our era when, according to tradition, the grammar of Dionysius Thrax was translated anonymously and adapted to the Armenian language. Later, in the fourteenth century, the Armenian author and grammarian, Yōhan Erznkachi, on the basis of his predecessors' writings, prepared a variorum commentary to the Armenian recension of the grammar of Dionysius Thrax, and mentioned (from the grammar of Stephanos) seven Armenian dialects, Korçay, Tayechi, Xuthayin, Chorrord-hayechi, Sperachi, Siuni, Archaxayin.<sup>1</sup> So far as we know, we do not find further special remarks on the Armenian dialects in the Armenian grammarians and authors. Only occasionally in one author or another do we find cursory and disconnected information on the patois of this or that Armenian dialect, and the patois is invariably characterized from the point of view of the Old Armenian literary language (the so-called Grabar). Even in comparatively recent times Armenian and European scholars have been found who regarded the mutual relations of the popular dialects and the Old Armenian language in the same way.

Turning to the work of scholars of modern times we find our first information on the distinctive peculiarities of certain Armenian dialects in a Dutch scholar at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Johann Schroeder in his noteworthy *Thesaurus linguae armenicae* (Amsterdam, 1711). In this rich 'Treasury' we find a special chapter entitled *Synopsis linguae civilis Armenorum*, in which J. Schroeder (alone of the early Armenists of Europe) presents a short grammar of one of the eastern dialects.<sup>2</sup> These few pages still possess peculiar value for us, since they contain the oldest specimens of some Armenian dialects now existing.<sup>3</sup> Finally, we possess more detailed and interesting information on the Armenian dialects in the book of an Armenian scholar of the beginning of the nineteenth century, Chahan-Cierbet, the first professor in the chair of Armenian at Paris, namely in his exhaustive *Grammaire de la langue Arménienne* (Paris, 1823).

After the work of Chahan-Cierbet, following the chronological order, we should mention the appearance at Moscow in 1852 of a magnificent edition of the poems of a national Armenian hymn-writer (*ašuy*) of the latter part of the eighteenth century, Sayeath-Nova(y), an edition for which we are indebted to Gēorg Aḫverdean, M.D.

Summing up the presentation in G. Aḫverdean's introduction, we find in it the following principles:

<sup>1</sup> Voir: Tušcien, Hnaḫōsuthiun Hlayastani (*i.e.* Les antiquités arméniennes), Venezia, 1835, v. III, p. 7; Cirbied, Grammaire de la langue arménienne. Paris, 1823, p. xvii. — Au.

<sup>2</sup> On divise ordinairement les dialectes arméniens en *dialectes orientaux* (Arménie russe, Arménie persane, etc.), et les *dialectes occidentaux* (Arménie turque, Anatolie, Constantinople, Crim, Galicie, etc.). Au point de vue scientifique cette division traditionnelle est disputable comme peu exacte. — Au.

<sup>3</sup> Nous devons mentionner aussi le grammaire de Mechithar (Məḫithar) de Sevastie (fondateur de la congrégation des Pères Mechitharistes à Venise), publiée à Venise en 1727. Cet ouvrage nous présente la grammaire de la langue neo-arménien *occidental* à l'aube du XVIII. siècle. Le titre arménien de cet ouvrage est suivant: Duḡn kherakanuthean ašḡarhabaḡ lezvin hayoch (*V. i.e.* Pars grammaticae linguae vulgaris armenicae). — Au.



1) Popular dialects are not mutilations of the Grabar, *i.e.* of the ancient Armenian literary language.

2) Armenian dialects arise from the common Pre-Armenian, which existed in the most ancient epoch.

3) The ancient Armenian written language (Grabar) is one of the popular dialects which received literary culture, thanks to well-known conditions (becoming the language of the priests, the court, etc.). It never became a spoken, living language, and, as at the present time, preparatory study in schools was necessary to acquire a knowledge of it. Here G. Aḵverdean assumes that perhaps the dialect forming the basis of the Grabar was actually the one which preserved in greatest purity the characteristics of the primitive Armenian (*i.e.* of the Pre-Armenian).

4) Among the dialects which may have formed the basis of the Grabar in the opinion of G. Aḵverdean we may reckon the dialects of the province of Ararat and the district of Taron, considering the importance which both territories possess in the history of Armenia.

It is especially important for the history of Armenian dialectology to note the "Critical Grammar of the Modern Armenian Literary Dialect (Constantinopolitan)" (in Armenian) from the pen of the venerable abbot of the Viennese Mechitharists, Arsen Aidynian (Aitenian), Vienna, 1866.

Finally we pass to the work of a late professor of the Oriental Faculty at the Imperial University of St. Petersburg, K. P. Patkanean, to a work which forms an epoch in the history of Armenian dialectology. *Professor Patkanean may indeed be considered the founder of the scientific study of the Armenian dialects.* In his philological study, "Investigations on the dialects of the Armenian language" (St. Petersburg, 1869), he presents a brief summary of certain Armenian dialects of which he had acquired a knowledge from various persons. Beside the study on Armenian dialects just mentioned, Kerop Patkanoff published two fascicules of dialectic texts, one (1875) of specimens of the dialect of Naḵiḱhevan on the Don, the other (1875) of Muš, and lastly in the "Monatsbericht" of the Berlin Academy of Sciences he published (1866) a study of the dialect of Agulis.

The work begun by Professor Patkanean was not in vain. In the year 1883 there appeared the able work of an Armenian scholar, Sargis Sargseanč, in which the author presented the phonology and morphology of the dialect of Argulis (in other words, the dialect of the Zoks) which he provided with numerous texts collected by himself in the country whose language he studied.

A few years later (in 1886) there appeared at Krakow the work of a young instructor in Comparative Grammar and Sanskrit at the University of Vienna, Jan Hanusz — *Ojęzyku Ormian Polskich*. In this work, which first appeared in Vol. XI. of the *Memoirs of the Krakow Academy of Sciences*, the Polish linguist presented a very comprehensive list of words gathered among the Gallician Armenians.

The following year the publication of the same investigation of J. Hanusz on the phonology of the Polo-Armenian dialect began in the pages of the new linguistic journal, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, under the title "Beiträge zur armenischen Dialektologie." In this magnificent work the author makes the phonology of the Polo-Armenian itself his starting point. From it he proceeds to the phonology of the ancient Armenian literary dialect (Grabar),



comparing each word of the Polo-Armenian dialect with the corresponding one of the Grabar.

After the works of Hanusz, we must speak of those of I. A. Tomson (now Professor of Comparative Linguistics and Sanskrit at Odessa). The first one, *Linguistic Investigations*, which appeared in the year 1887, contained "A Brief Sketch of the Phonology and Morphology of the Aḫaltzyḫ (Aḫalchəḫ) Dialect." In this work the author adhered to the same system as Hanusz, *i.e.* he proceeded from the sounds and inflections of the Aḫaltzyḫ dialect to the sounds and inflections of the Grabar. But in a second work, *Historical Grammar of the Modern Armenian Dialect of Tiflis*, St. Petersburg, 1890, which was devoted to a comprehensive description of the Tiflis dialect, the author changes the system of his research. In his phonology he proceeds from the sounds of the Grabar to the sounds of the Tiflis dialect, *i.e.* he considers what sounds in the Tiflis dialect correspond with particular sounds in the Grabar.

P.S.<sup>1</sup>—Jusqu'au dernier temps les linguistes qui étudiaient l'histoire de la langue arménienne, prenaient en considération seulement les données du grabar (ancien arménien littéraire) et des dialectes néo-arméniens. De la sorte l'époque intermédiaire entre le grabar et les dialectes néo-arméniens—l'époque de la langue médio-arménienne—restait non explorée du point de vue linguistique. Cependant cette époque intermédiaire—époque "médio-arménienne (mittel-armenisch)"—est d'une grande portée pour l'histoire de la langue arménienne. Les formes phonétiques et morphologiques du médio-arménien nous présentent la transition naturelle des sons et formes de l'ancien arménien (*i.e.* grabar) aux sons et formes des dialectes néo-arméniens. Dans le médio-arménien, dans la plus grande partie des cas, a déjà commencé le procédé de la formation des formes qui sont des *propria* des dialectes néo-arméniens. Ainsi le néo-arménien<sup>2</sup> ne nous présente que l'évolution ultérieure du médio-arménien.

Dans la II. vol. de mes "Études de dialectologie arménienne,"<sup>3</sup> je compare les données de la morphologie du dialecte de Muš avec celles de l'arménien ancien (Grabar) et du médio-arménien. De la sorte, pour la première fois dans l'ouvrage où est étudié un des dialectes néo-arméniens, le perspective historique se présente parfait autant que possible.<sup>4</sup>

Remarks were made by Mr. Michelson.

<sup>1</sup> Ce post-scriptum est tiré du discours de Dr. L. Nisériantz, prononcé à l'Université de St. Pétersbourg, le 30 (16) mars 1901, avant son dispute.

<sup>2</sup> Sous ce terme ("néo-arménien") nous nous entendons tous les dialectes néo-arméniens.

<sup>3</sup> Voici le titre complet: Études de dialectologie arménienne. P. II, livraison 1. Morphologie comparée du dialecte de Muš en rapport avec morphologie du grabar et du médio-arménien. Moscou, 1901, pp. xxi., 186. [The first portion, dealing with the phonology of the Muš dialect, appeared at Moscow in 1897, pp. xxiv., 146.] Après 1897 sont parus beaucoup des études et matériaux sur les dialectes néo arméniens. Notons par exemple "Études" de M-r Fl. Ačarean (dialectes d'Aslanbek, de Suczawa, de Karabaje), de M-r Melik David Beg (dialecte d'Arabkir), de M-r Gazančean (dialecte des Arméniens de Tokat) etc. (Voir mes "Études de dialectologie arménienne," vol. II., p. xi., note). Beaucoup des matériaux dialectologiques nous trouvons dans les journaux arméniens: "Biarakn" (à Constantinople), "Handēs Amsoreay" (à Vienne), "Azagakan Handēs" (à Tiflis), etc., ainsi que dans les publications des folkloristes arméniens.

<sup>4</sup> C'est prof. N. Marr (Armeniste à St.-Pétersbourg) qui a tiré mon attention sur l'importance du médio-arménien pour l'histoire de la langue arménienne. Maintenant nous possédons une très bonne ouvrage de J. Karst sur la langue arménienne de Moyen-Age de Cilicie (*Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-Armenischen*, von Dr. Josef Karst, Strassburg, 1901).



33. *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* (C. I. L. vi. 930), by Professor Fred. B. R. Hellems, of the State University of Colorado.<sup>1</sup>

The so-called *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* is inscribed on a large bronze tablet now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. Of its history nothing is known until the mention of the inscription in the *Epistolario di Cola di Rienzi* and the contemporary *Vita Anonyma* of the young revolutionist and archaeologist, who set up the tablet in the wall of S. Giovanni in Laterano in order to employ it against his ecclesiastical opponents. Thence it was transferred to the Capitol by Gregory XIII., and its present home was assigned it by Clement XII.

The first clause, of which the beginning is missing, confers on Vespasian authority to make treaties; the second, to convoke ordinary meetings of the senate and to proceed therein; the third, to hold extraordinary meetings of the senate; the fourth, to commend candidates; the fifth, to extend the pomerium; the sixth, to do whatever he shall think likely to promote the welfare of the state, etc. The seventh clause exempts him from the operation of certain laws and plebiscites; the eighth provides for the ratification of his previous acts; the ninth makes the formal declaration of the superiority of this law.

The first clause in its entirety almost certainly conferred supreme power in what we may roughly call affairs of war and peace. This power would be closely connected with the *imperium proconsulare*, as it is generally termed, or *imperium consulare*, as Pelham designates the same power.

The second clause confers four distinct rights touching Vespasian's dealings with the senate. These are always regarded as conferred by special legislation, and as in no way connected with the *tribunicia potestas*. They are really connected with the *tribunicia potestas*, just as the prerogatives of the preceding clause are connected with the *imperium proconsulare*. The right implied in the very difficult *relationem remittere* is the old right of *intercessio* as it has developed in relation to the emperor and his dealings with the senate. He may either drop the *relatio* or "send it back" for further consideration.

The third clause insures the validity of all proceedings at any extraordinary meetings of the senate, just as the second clause dealt with regularly convoked meetings. The solution of the difficulty as to the form of meeting implied in *praesente eo* is to be found in the council authorized towards the close of the reign of Augustus, which develops into what is really a smaller senate depending for the validity of its proceedings only on the presence of the emperor.

The remaining clauses contain many things of importance, but must be omitted in this summary.

The whole inscription incorporated the legislation that conferred on Vespasian the headship of the Roman state. This legislation conferred both the *imperium proconsulare* and the *tribunicia potestas*; it defined certain important rights connected with these; it then added special prerogatives. Some such legislation was passed for all the successors of Augustus, and would tend to be regarded as conferring a general power. By the time of Vespasian this was thought of as a general law and as conferring a general power, and to this power had come to be applied the word *imperium* without additional description.

The date of the official publication of the inscription can be placed with confidence early in January of the year 70 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> This paper will be published in full by Scott, Foresman & Co., Chicago.



34. Contraction in the Case-forms of the Latin *iō-* and *iā-*stems and of *deus*, *is*, and *idem*, by Dr. E. H. Sturtevant, of Indiana University (read by Professor Rolfe).<sup>1</sup>

The triple set of forms in use for the nominative plural and dative-ablative plural of *deus*, and for the nominative plural masculine and dative-ablative plural of the pronouns *is* and *idem* presents a problem which has engaged the attention of the Roman grammarians and of many modern scholars, but which still offers much that is perplexing both as to the actual facts and as to their explanation. A clue to the solution of some of the difficulties is found in the history of the *iō-* and *iā-*stems, and we shall begin our discussion with them.

The history of the short forms in the genitive singular is pretty thoroughly understood. But the contracted plural forms like *fiū* and *filis* have attracted less attention. Aside from the early period we have little more than fragmentary collections of material. It is generally agreed that the early dramatists did not use such forms as *fiū* and *filis*. The metre usually requires the longer forms *fiūi*, etc., and in the comparatively few places where *fiūi*, etc., used to be read, the iambic shortening law enables us to read *fiūi*, etc. In four plays of Plautus the metre requires the dissyllabic ending forty-six times, and permits either form in the remaining fourteen instances. This is exactly what other considerations would lead one to expect in Plautus. In his time the diphthongs *oi* and *ai* of the nominative and dative-ablative plural had only reached the stage of close *ē*, and there is no reason in the nature of the case why the combination *iē* should contract.

But when, about A.U.C. 600, the change of close *ē* to *ī* had brought two like vowels together contraction was almost inevitable. Accordingly it is not strange that one of the extant lines of the comic poet Turpilius, who probably ceased writing early in the seventh century, requires the reading *flāgitis*. The earliest instances of the short endings on inscriptions are CONTROVERSIS, FLOVI, etc., on the *Sententia Minuciorum* of the year 637.

The spelling IEI, IEIS remained the usual one up to the end of the republic, but is to be regarded as a bit of orthographical conservatism, rather than as an exact record of the pronunciation. There are besides several certain instances of the writing IEI for *ī*. MIEIS in the familiar line from the epitaph of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus must be read *mīs*. We have on inscriptions SUiEIS, SACRIEIS, MERITIEIS, and LUMPHIEIS.

A re-formation, however, was possible at any time, and in the literary speech the pronunciation *-iī*, *-iīs* was actually introduced as early as the time of Lucretius. The adverbs *grātis* and *ingrātis* were always so pronounced after the time of Terence, but aside from them I know of only nine certain instances of the contracted forms in the poets.

Imperial inscriptions show both forms with great frequency. I have collected complete statistics for Vol. VI. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and a number of the longer inscriptions published elsewhere. The common word *filius* shows the spellings FILI and FILIS a little more than three times as frequently as the longer forms. In personal names the nominative in *-II* is nearly

<sup>1</sup> The paper of which this is an abstract was prepared at the University of Chicago under the oversight of Professor Carl D. Buck. Any value that it may possess should be ascribed to his careful criticism.



ten times as frequent as that in -l. This spelling was used for the sake of distinguishing the nominative plural from the genitive singular, which in these words generally ended in a single -l. The dative-ablative plural shows -lls a little more often than -ls. Other words show the short forms a little more commonly than the long ones up to about the end of the third century. After that date the long forms are almost the only ones in use.

The writing ll was used for the sound *ī* during the empire just as |E| had been in the early period. We have seen that the pronunciations -*ī* and -*īī* were both in use from the time of Lucretius on. Both spellings, therefore, must have existed side by side, and many people would read *ī* where -ll was written. The same persons would then be likely to write -ll when they meant -*ī*. Accordingly three metrical inscriptions require the short forms where -ll and -lls are written. When the use of -ll for *ī* had once become established, it spread to other words where it had no historical justification. I have a list of forty-seven instances of this sort. For example, I find SUlls thirteen times. So it is probable that the pronunciations *fili*, *filis*, etc., were more frequent than the orthography of the inscriptions would indicate.

In the time of Plautus and Terence the nominative plural of *īo*-stems ended in -*īī*, and the dative-ablative plural of *īo*- and *īā*-stems in -*īīī*. About 600 *ē* became *ī* and the resulting -*īī*, -*īīī* contracted to -*ī*, -*īs*. The re-formations -*īī*, -*īīī* were introduced in the literary language as early as Lucretius, and almost entirely banished the contractions from formal discourse. The ordinary pronunciation, however, was -*ī*, -*īs* up to about the end of the third century after Christ.

Scholars are practically agreed that in Plautus and Terence *deus* makes only the shorter forms *dī* and *dīs* in the nominative and dative-ablative plural. The evidence, however, is not so clear as has usually been supposed. In each of the 398 occurrences in Plautus and Terence the metre will admit the dissyllabic *deī*, *deīs*, or (with iambic shortening) *dei*, *deis*. We must remember, however, that substitution is so free in the early dramatic metres that a long monosyllable may almost always be replaced by a pyrrhic (and consequently by a shortened iambus). An iambic word, on the other hand, would almost certainly betray itself; that is, it would be almost certain to occur in positions where a monosyllable could not be substituted for it. And so we actually find that other forms of *deus* and the corresponding forms of *meus* frequently occur where an iambus is required by the metre. My lists are incomplete, but they contain *deīs* six times, *deāe* six times, *deās* twice, *meī* four times, and *meīs* thirty-four times. There is no explanation for this difference in treatment unless *dī* and *dīs* are really monosyllables. The question is definitely settled, however, by Ennius' hexameters. They require *dī* once and *dīs* four times.

The earliest instance of the dissyllabic pronunciation in poetry is in Catullus. From his time on it was used with increasing frequency. In ten of the better known poets I find *dī* one hundred ninety times beside *deī* twenty-two times, *dīs* ninety times beside *deīs* thirty-nine times.

Our forms occur very often on inscriptions, especially in the phrase DIS MANIBUS. In Vol. VI. of the *Corpus* I find the spelling DI nine times, DII seven times, DEI twice; DIS 1860 times, DIIS four hundred twenty-seven times, and



DEIS nine times. That is, the writing DI, DIS, is a little more than four times as frequent as DII, DIIS. The spelling DEI, DEIS occurs in less than one-half of one per cent. of the total number of cases. As the metrical inscriptions follow the poets in their comparatively frequent use of the dissyllabic *dei*, *deis*, we may conclude that these forms were confined to the literary speech. The remarkable orthography DII and DIIS is said by the national grammarians to represent the monosyllabic *dī*, *dīs*, and it must be so interpreted on two metrical inscriptions. We have seen that the practice of writing II to represent the long vowel originated in the *io*- and *iā*-stems, and then spread to other words. It became especially common in *dī* and *dīs* on account of a rule of the grammarians to the effect that no case of a noun can have fewer syllables than the nominative singular.

*Dī* and *dīs* are the only forms for which we have evidence from the early period, and the colloquial speech seems to have known no others even under the empire. The re-formations *dei* and *deis* appeared in the literary language in the time of Caesar, and became very common by the middle of the first century A.D., but *dī* and *dīs* still continued in good use.

The history of the corresponding cases of the pronouns *is* and *idem* cannot be so satisfactorily disposed of. There is a remarkable variety of opinion in regard to the usage of the early period. Perhaps the view most widely accepted is that Plautus and Terence ordinarily used the short forms *ī*, *īs*, *idem*, and *isdem*, but through metrical necessity or for some other reason they occasionally employed the longer *eī*, *eīs*, *eīdem*, and *eīdem*.

In Plautus and Terence the metre requires *eī* once, *eīs* seven times, and *eīdem* once. In all other cases either the monosyllabic or the dissyllabic pronunciation is possible. These are about the figures to be expected if the words were always dissyllabic, as is shown by a comparison with some of the certainly dissyllabic cases of the pronoun. In three plays of Plautus, *eō*, *eā*, *eīs*, and *eīs* occur twenty-seven times, but in only five passages does the metre require a dissyllable. Our cases occur in the two authors forty-seven times, and must be dissyllabic eight times. So there is no reason for continuing the time-honored statement that Plautus usually employed the monosyllabic *ī* and *īs*. Still, we shall see that these forms were probably in use in his time, and it is impossible to say that he never employed them.

The only sixth century inscription that furnishes any reliable evidence on the question is the *S. C. de Bacchanalibus*. It contains three times the spelling EEIS, which corresponds with the dissyllabic *eī* and *eīs* of Plautus and Terence. For the first half of the seventh century the common spelling is EI, EIS, etc. At this period the combination EI is usually ambiguous. But the *Tabula Bantina* of about 630 consistently writes EI for the sound *ī* in plural case endings, and accordingly EIS and EIDEM must stand for *īs* and *idem*. IS of the *Lex Repetundarum* of A.U.C. 631-2 is of course a monosyllable. The spelling IEI, IEIS, which is very common from 650 to 750, represents a monosyllabic pronunciation, just as IEI stands for *ī* in case-forms of the *io*-stems and in *mīs*, *suīs*, etc., on inscriptions of this period.

Our cases of the pronoun *is* do not occur, so far as I know, in any modern editions of the poets later than Terence. *Hi* and *his* are printed instead. Ziegel



has recently made it probable that the forms of *is* are to be restored in some passages, and of course the shorter forms *ī* and *īs* are the only ones that the metre will permit. I find *idem* fifteen times and *isdem* twenty-seven times in the later poets. *Eisdem* occurs a single time in Juvenal.

In *C. I. L.* VI. and a number of the imperial inscriptions published elsewhere I find *Ei* eleven times, *Il* nineteen times, *I* once; *EIS* thirty-eight times, *IIS* forty times, *IS* twenty-six times. *Il* represents the long vowel here as in the forms of *deus* and the other words already discussed. The great frequency of the spelling *IIS* may be due to a desire to distinguish the dative-ablative plural *īs* from the nominative singular *is*. The very shortness of the form *ī* probably encouraged the doubling of the letter. I find *IDEM* eleven times on these inscriptions, and it is without a rival. *ISDEM* occurs ninety-six times, *IISDEM* once, and *EISDEM* four times.

The dissyllabic *eī* and *eīs* were in use throughout the history of the language. The monosyllabic *ī* and *īs* are certain from about A.U.C. 630 on. They were the usual forms under the empire, especially in literature. *Īdem* and *īdem* are certain from about A.U.C. 630 on. Under the empire they were almost the only forms in use.

We have, then, to account for two sets of forms, *dei*, *eī*, etc., and *dī*, *ī*, etc. Only the second series calls for any explanation. The most prominent theory that has been advanced is that of Thurneysen. He derives *dī*, etc., from *dei*, etc., by a process of two stages. First *e* was assimilated to the following *i* (from *oi*). Then the resulting *iī* contracted to *ī*. Of course both processes must have been complete before the time of Plautus, for that author always uses the monosyllabic forms of *deus*. But we have seen that *oi* in the case-endings had only reached the stage of close *ē* at that period. It is not clear why *ē* should change to *ī* before *ē*. Furthermore, even if a form *\*diē* had existed, it would not have suffered contraction. For we have seen that in the *io*- and *iā*-stems the sound group *-iē* remained intact until about the year 600, when close *ē* became *ī*.

But one need only set up the form that would be regular in Plautus' time to see what has happened. *Deus* ought to make a nominative plural *\*deē*. This contracted to *dē*, which is, of course, the pronunciation that Plautus used. We do not want an intermediate stage, *\*dīi* or *\*diē*.

The corresponding cases, not only of *is* but also of *meus* and of all other *eo*-stems, must have suffered the same contraction. We have seen that there is no objection to assuming *ī* and *īs* for the time of Plautus, although there is no convincing evidence of their existence before the year 630. We have only a few traces of the old contracted forms of other stems.

At some time after the diphthong *oi* in unaccented syllables had become *ē*, and before the beginning of Plautus' literary activity, the group *eē* was contracted into *ē*. And so we have from *deus*, *dē* and *dēs*; from *is*, *ē* and *ēs*. The change of *ē* to *ī* about the year 600 yielded the familiar *dī*, *dīs*, etc. The analogical re-formations *dei* and *deīs* did not appear until the time of Catullus. They were peculiar to the literary language, and never became universal even there. The corresponding re-formations of the pronoun were earlier and more widespread. Plautus ordinarily employed *eē* and *eēs*, and once at least he used *eēdem*. Later



on the monosyllabic *i* and *is* were decidedly more frequent, while *idem* and *isdem* were almost the only forms in use.

The spellings *IEI* for *i* in the late republic and *II* for *i* in imperial times originated with the *io-* and *iā-*stems, where both *IEI* and *II* on the one hand and *EI* and *I* on the other stood originally for actual pronunciations. The writings spread, however, to other words, and became especially common in our monosyllables.

35. *Πέρ* in Thucydides, Xenophon, and the Attic Orators, by Professor Edwin L. Green, of South Carolina College (read by title).

From the time of Homer, who has *πέρ* freely subjoined as an enclitic to any word, the tendency is to restrict *πέρ* more and more to those word-forms with which it compounds. And in the authors discussed it is limited entirely to such.

*Πέρ* as a shorter form of *περί* is an intensive and distinctive particle, which can be rendered into English in several ways, by *very*, *the same who*, *just*, with relatives; in conditions it can perhaps be best rendered by *really*. Even *if* for *εἴπερ* (Monro, *Homeric Grammar*,<sup>2</sup> § 353) is not adequate for Attic Greek.

The relative forms combined with *πέρ* in the Orators, Xenophon and Thucydides are *ὅς*, *ὅλος*, *ὅσος*, *ὅστις* and *ὁπόσος*. Thucydides and Isocrates have about one to every three Teubner pages. Antiphon and Andocides follow these closely. Xenophon uses about half as many as Thucydides. Lycurgus and Aeschines deal little in such forms. The remaining orators have each about one in six pages. Antiphon uses only forms of *ὅσπερ*, which is also true of Thucydides with a few exceptions. The longer forms *οἷόσπερ* and *ὁσοσπερ* are found in Isocrates as often as in all the others together. Of these Demosthenes and Xenophon alone employ them more than three or four times. *ὁστιώσπερ* is used once by Demosthenes and twice by Xenophon, and *ὁπόσοσπερ* once by Demosthenes.

In a few instances *πέρ* is employed in one sentence and omitted in the next, parallel to the first, as Antiphon vi. 47, *οἵτινες ἀπερ αὐτοὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔπεισαν, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι πείσαι, καὶ ἃ αὐτοὶ ἐργῶ ἀπεδίκασαν, ταῦτα ὑμᾶς κελεύουσι καταδικάσαι*; Xen. *Anab.* vii. 7, 28.

Except in Lycurgus, the combinations in which there would be no hiatus if *πέρ* were omitted are in excess over those causing hiatus. Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes and Deinarchus have an equal number proportionately of the two possible combinations. Hyperides has half as many possible hiatus as non-hiatus combinations. Of the former combination one only is found in Aeschines, and of the latter none in Lycurgus.

The most prominent correlation to relative forms in *πέρ* is *ὁ αὐτός*, which belongs especially to Isocrates (29 times) and Demosthenes (37 times). Lysias, Aeschines, Andocides and Thucydides have each not more than nine correlations. The others have none over three. See for examples, Isoc. iv. 81, *τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντες γνώμην ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἡττοὺς ἢ περ τοὺς κρείττους πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς*; Dem. i. 2; Thuc. vii. 18, 3 (*τὸ αὐτό* following, as elsewhere). At times correlations and non-correlations appear side by side, Lysias, xxv. 31, *ἐπεθύμουν ὥν περ οὗτοι, . . . τῶν αὐτῶν ὥν περ ἐκεῖνοι*. *Πέρ*, without *ὁ αὐτός*, giving the force of *the same* is most frequent in Thucydides: v. 7, 1 *τρόπῳ ᾧ περ καί*; vii. 36, 3;



Isoc. vi. 100. *ὅλτος* is antecedent to the relative with *πέρ* in Isocrates fourteen times. Demosthenes with thirteen and Thucydides with ten such correlations are not far behind, but the others have practically no correlation with *ὅλτος*. Of *τοιούτος* correlative to *ὁδσπερ* Isocrates has twenty examples, and with the exception of Andocides (5) he is the only author to employ it more than three times. *τοσοῦτος* likewise is not used correlatively to *δοσσπερ* more than three times by any author except Isocrates, whose twenty-eight examples attest his liking for this correlation. Demosthenes has *πᾶς* before forms of *πέρ* nine times, xxiv. 205, *πάντας δοσσιπερ ἂν αὐτῷ χρῶνται*. In the Proemia he employs *πέρ* after *ἴσος*, cf. 16; 21, 1; 27, 1.

Thucydides and Xenophon are fondest of *καί* in connection with *πέρ*, the former having as many *καί*'s as all the rest together. And the translation of the relative form is almost always best made by *the same who*: Thuc. vii. 33, 4, *τῷ Ἄρτῳ, δοσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς δυναστὴς ὥν παρέσχεν*, viii. 8, 2; 41, 4. *καί* with a conditional particle combined with *πέρ* is very rare. Thucydides has three such examples, and it practically does not exist elsewhere: i. 69, 1, *εἴπερ καὶ τὴν δξίωσιν . . . φέρεται*.

*Ὅπερ* and *ἄπερ* are very common, usually with some verb of saying, and often with *πρότερον* and *καί* (especially in Isaeus): Lysias, i. 39, *δοπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον*; Isaeus, i. 41; Dem. xx. 21. Thucydides is fondest of these two forms.

One very prominent use of *πέρ* is with conditional particles. In our authors this is confined almost entirely to conditions introduced by *εἴπερ*. Antiphon (10), Andocides (4), Aeschines (4), Lysurgus (2), Deinarchus (1), Thucydides (13) have only *εἴπερ* and the indicative. Lysias (19) and Isaeus (8) have *εἴπερ* once each with the optative, otherwise the indicative. Isocrates (20) uses *ἥνπερ* twice, *ἄνπερ* once, *ἐάνπερ* once, *εἴπερ* and optative twice, otherwise *εἴπερ* and indicative. Demosthenes (63) has *ἐάνπερ* twice, *ἄνπερ* nine times, *εἴπερ* and optative twice, with optative and *ἄν* once, leaving 49 *εἴπερ*'s with the indicative. In the *Anabasis* *ἥνπερ* is found once, *ἐάνπερ* once, *εἴπερ* and indicative four times; in the *Hellenica*, *εἴπερ* with the optative once; in the *Cyropedia*, *ἥνπερ* once, *εἴπερ* with the optative once, *εἴπερ* with the indicative seven times. The conditions introduced by *εἴπερ* are with few exceptions logical conditions.

Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes make the freest use of *πέρ* in conditions. Thucydides and Xenophon have it only in speeches, except once in the former — *εἴπερ ποτὲ*, iv. 55, 2 — and there in *oratio obliqua*. *πέρ* in conditions, to judge from its being found only in speeches, belongs to the 'cut and thrust' of the *agora*. The protasis states the thought, the intention, or the words of the opponent in the form of a condition, and so casts a doubt thereon. There is nearly always a tinge of irony, of sarcasm, of defiance: *as alleged, as you say, really, even if* — Lysias, i. 21, *εἴπερ οὕτως ἔχει*: Isoc. iv. 14, *εἴπερ μηδὲν διαφέρων οὕτω μεγάλας ποιῶμαι ὑποσχέσεις*. *εἴπερ* is also used to put a general statement or truth in the form of a condition.

In addition to *πέρ* we find also in conditions — very rarely — the particles *γέ*, *δή*, *δὴ καί*, *γὰρ καί*, *ἥδη καί*.

Besides the combinations discussed there are several adverbial relative compounds, which occur a few times each.



36. The Birth Year of Tibullus, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of Maine (read by title).

Like a good many other Roman writers, Tibullus was thoughtless enough not to be born famous; and, after becoming famous, neglected to inform the world just when he entered upon his poetic existence. Similarly, the arrival of Plautus and Propertius, for example, has in each case been determined, if at all, as a mere matter of conjecture. In the case of Tibullus the guesses at the date of his birth vary considerably among scholars. Teuffel puts it at *c.* 54 B.C.; Schulze, at *c.* 58; Dissen, at *c.* 59.

The data usually employed in finding the year sought are the following:

1. Lygdamus states (3, 5, 17) that he was born in the year when Hirtius and Pansa perished at Mutina, *i.e.* 43 B.C.:

*Natalem primo nostrum videre parentes  
Cum cecidit futo consul uterque pari.*

But, apart from the fact that this very passage helps confirm the surety that Lygdamus and Tibullus are not the same person, this date is much too late. For (a) Ovid, who was certainly a good deal younger than Tibullus, gives the same year as that of his own birth (*Trist.* 4, 10, 6); and (b), if Tibullus had been born as late as this, he would have been but a boy of twelve years when he engaged with Messalla in the Aquitanian campaign.

2. Ovid (*Trist.* 4, 10, 51-54) states that the chronological order of the Roman elegists was, — Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid:

*Vergilium vidi tantum; nec amara Tibullo  
Tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae.  
Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi;  
Quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.*

3. The Aquitanian campaign, in spite of recent attempts to disprove the accepted chronology, probably took place in 31 B.C. In any event, the participation of Tibullus in it is an important element in our calculations.

4. The well-known epigram of Domitius Marsus makes it clear that when Tibullus died, about the same time as Vergil (19 B.C.), he was still a young man:

*Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,  
Mors iuvenem campos misit ad Elysios.*

That the conjectural dates assigned on the basis of the foregoing data are all too early is the contention of this paper, for the following reasons:

1. The other elegists were uniformly younger men than Tibullus would have been, when they wrote most of their amatory poetry, which is largely the character of the elegies in the Tibullus collection. The work of Catullus was practically, if not entirely, done at thirty. Propertius published his Cynthia-book at about the age of twenty-three. Ovid's *Amores* were before the world before the poet was thirty. This poetry is the poetry of youth.

2. The most natural time for a young Roman of good parentage to gain his often rather conventional military experience was soon after assuming the respon-



sibilities of a Roman citizen by donning the manly toga, an event occurring usually not later than the age of seventeen years. If Tibullus followed this common custom in attaching himself to the staff of Messalla for the Aquitanian campaign in B.C. 31, his birth year might fittingly be conjectured as about 48 B.C.

3. The amount of poetry left us by Tibullus, at best surprisingly small, is less remarkable on the supposition that it was all written by a young man, who was just at the susceptible age when he went to war in B.C. 31, who at eighteen returned, in B.C. 30, from his illness at Corcyra to his Delia, and who at twenty-nine had but just finished his course of experience with fickle love, and died then, without having time to rally himself for more serious composition. If, on the other hand, we adopt the earlier dates suggested for his birth, this question, among others, is not easily answered, What did the poet do between the ages of twenty-five or thirty, and thirty-five or forty? Why, when he should be producing something worthy to compare with the last book of Propertius or the larger works of Ovid, is his voice dumb? Why is the elegant leisure of his maturer years, while Messalla's patronage should be the strongest incentive to literary endeavor, totally unproductive? There is nowhere a hint that any of his work has failed to come down to us. Is it reasonable to suppose that at the age of forty Tibullus had written nothing else?

4. If Tibullus was born in 48, Lygdamus, who was, as we have seen, born in 43, would have been much more easily confused with him, there being such an inconsiderable difference in the degree of their youthfulness, than if there had been a discrepancy of from eleven to sixteen years between their ages.

On the basis of these arguments, B.C. 48 may be regarded as a not improbable date for the birth of Tibullus. The difference between his age and that of Propertius would then be, indeed, not great; but Ovid's statement that Propertius succeeded Tibullus should be interpreted chiefly with regard to the work of each, as a relatively large proportion of that of Propertius was done subsequently to the bulk of that of Tibullus.

The following approximate chronology may then be suggested :

B.C.	
48	Tibullus born.
31	Aquitanian campaign.
31-23	Attachment to Delia.
23-21	Attachment to Marathus.
21-19	Attachment to Nemesis.
19	Tibullus died.

37. A Misunderstood Passage in Aeschylus, by Professor J. E. Harry, of the University of Cincinnati (read by title).

This paper appears in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*.

38. Notes on Aeschylus and Aristophanes, by Professor William J. Seelye, of the University of Wooster, Ohio (read by title).

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γῆς δυσφρόνων μειλίγματα  
βροτοῖς πιφαύσκων εἶπε, τὰς δ' αἰνῶν νόσους. — *Choeph.* 277 f.



For *μειλίγματα* many are inclined to write *μηρίματα*, thinking the Ms. reading inconsistent with *νόσους* of the following line. The natural meaning of *δυσφρόνων μειλίγματα* is 'propitiations of hostile powers.' So far as I know, the following interpretation of this passage has not been suggested: Apollo spoke announcing to mortals propitiations from the earth for the Erinyes (*i.e.* if mortals commit murder in response to a divine command), but declaring the following plagues (*i.e.* if, through horror at the thought of slaying one's kindred, one refuses to listen to the divine voice). This would be the natural alternation of feeling in Orestes's mind, dreading the Furies' wrath, if he slay his mother, but calling to mind the fearful threats of the god, in case of disobedience.

πάρος δ' οἱ κτανόντες  
νῦν οὕτως δαμῆναι. — *Choeph.* 367-368.

The abruptness of *νῦν* after *πάτερ* (363) has been often noted. Reading *νυν*, we have a strong contrast with *πάρος* of the previous line. The only objection is the habit of writing *νῦν* for the strict sense of time, in this instance a short syllable being required. This custom, however, does not seem to rest on any sure logical foundation.

εἴ τις πτερώσας Κλεόκριτον Κινησίῳ  
αἰροῖεν ἀδραὶ πελαγίαν ὑπὲρ πλάκα. — *Frogs*, 1437-1438.

This is entirely without sense. Make the second line begin *αἰροὶ ἐν αἶφᾳ*, involving no change of Ms. reading, and we have an instance of aposiopesis, which is aptly concluded by *γέλοιοι ἀν φαίνοιτο*, the opening words of Dionysus's rejoinder in the next line. Such expressions as *οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει* answer any objection which might be raised to the hiatus.

39. The Vowel in the Writing of Ancient Egypt, by Edmund F. Schreiner, Esq., of Chicago.

The paper establishes the theory that the hieroglyphic and the hieratic writing of Egypt in the ancient and the classical periods follows the system of vocalization found in Chaldee in the oldest parts of the Babylonian Talmud. One of the principal features is the use of Aleph, Ayin, Yod, and Vav as full sonant vowels and not as half consonant or quiescent letters, as they appear in Hebrew. (Cp. S. D. Luzzatti, *Grammar of the Chaldaic Idiom in the Babylonian Talmud*, translated by Prof. Goldammer, Chap. I., §§ 1, 14, 15, 16.) So in the Egyptian writing the signs of the vowels "eagle, fern, arm, double fern, chick, and coil" represent full-sounding vowels, *d, ā, ā, ī, ū, ū*; they are never consonantic and should be transcribed and pronounced as vowels.

The consonantic signs were *all* syllabic in the original Egyptian and were used so in the classical writing, with certain restrictions. Some of those were also used as simple letters (consonant); that is, the inherent vowel was dropped, when the sign was followed by a written vowel; others, especially when the inherent vowel is *i* or *u*, retain that vowel even before a following written vowel.

For particulars the student is referred to the writer's *Egyptian Reader*, of which publication is promised, when the necessary type has been procured.



40. Anaphora and Chiasmus in *Livy*, by Professor R. B. Steele, of Illinois Western University (read by Professor M. Warren).

This paper appears in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*.

41. Zeus the Heaven, by Dr. Arthur Stoddard Cooley, of Auburn-dale, Mass.

It is a common theory that many of the Greek gods are personifications of the sun, moon, earth, and other natural objects and forces. By Homer's time, however, their anthropomorphization was complete; and while Zeus was ruler of the sky and Poseidon of the sea, the common man could hardly have been conscious of any actual identity between the god and that part of Nature which was his province.

Later philosophy was much concerned with the nature of the gods, and there we should expect to find numerous examples of dogmas like "Zeus is the Heaven," "Demeter is the Earth." But the number of statements of this sort and of passages where such ideas seem to underlie the words is surprisingly large in authors of the classical period, or, roundly, before 300 B.C.

In this paper I discuss but one deity, and but one of the ideas as to his original nature; namely, that Zeus is the *αἰθήρ* or Heaven (the words being often synonymous: cf. Pacuvius, *Chrysis*, fr. 6, v. 89, Ribbeck; Cicero, *N. D.* ii. 40, 101). For, in the authors examined, Zeus is also the air (*ἀήρ*), sun, and lightning, and even the universe itself.

One of the first to enunciate the theory that Zeus is the Heaven was Pherecydes of Syros of the sixth century B.C. As quoted by Hermias (*Irris. Gent. Philos.* 12) he stated that the three *ἀρχαί* were Zeus, the *αἰθήρ*, the active principle; Chthonia, the Earth, the passive principle; and Kronos or *χρόνος*, in which all things take place.

Anacreon, his contemporary, in a fragment given by the Townleyan scholiast to *Iliad*, O 192, seems to call Zeus the sky, when he says: 'The month Poseideon indeed is here; the water burdens the clouds, and fierce storms bring down Zeus' — a passage imitated by Horace in *Epode* XIII.

But Euripides states this plainly in two fragments (877 and 941, Nauck):

'The *αἰθήρ* gives you birth, my daughter, whose name among men is Zeus,' and

'Seest thou this boundless *αἰθήρ* on high and holding in its moist embrace the earth? Consider this as Zeus, count this a god.'

The Oxford *Anecdota* (i. p. 182, 11), citing the first passage, has this: 'They say that Zeus is the *αἰθήρ* itself, because it is fiery and boils (Mehler's *ῥεῖ* for *ῥῆ*),' an etymological connection of *Ζεύς* with *ῥέω*. Compare the same *Anecdota*, ii. p. 443, 5.

With the second fragment we may group No. 919, Nauck:

'The head of the gods, the shining *αἰθήρ*, which holds the earth in its embrace.'

A trifle less clear is an expression in fragment 839, vv. 1 and 2, from the *Chrysippus*:

'The earth most great, and the *Αἰθήρ* of Zeus, father of men and of gods;' but here we may reasonably take *Διός* as an appositive genitive, and compare fragment 985:



'The slayer of the Gorgon flying 'mid the αἰθήρ of Zeus.'

One more fragment of Euripides may possibly be interpreted on this theory ; namely, No. 911 :

'Golden wings are on my back, and the wingéd sandals of the Sirens (on my feet), and I will go rising into the vast αἰθήρ, to mingle with Zeus.'

I feel less certain about the line of the *Oedipus at Colonus* (1471), where the chorus exclaims : ὦ μέγας αἰθήρ, ὦ Ζεῦ,' since in *O. T.* 660 f. Sophocles seems to identify Zeus with the sun ; compare also the doubtful fragment 1017, Nauck.

To return to the philosophers, we find Empedocles of Agrigentum (*Plut. de plac. philos.* i. 3, p. 878 A) giving names of gods to his four elements, thus :

'Hear first the four roots (ρίζωματα) of all things : Zeus the shining, Hera the bringer of life, Aidoneus, and Nestis, who drips in tears, a mortal fount.'

Plutarch's interpretation is as follows (*L. c.*) :

'He means by "Zeus" the fiery element (ἔσσις) and the αἰθήρ ; by "life-bringing Hera" the air ; while the earth is "Aidoneus," and "Nestis" (a Sicilian divinity) and the "mortal fount" are, so to speak, water and seed (σπέρμα).'

Zeno the Stoic, also, on the testimony of Minucius Felix, a Christian writer of the third century (*Octav.* xix. 10), held the same view, interpreting Hera to be the air, Zeus the heaven, Poseidon the sea, and Hephaestus fire, and identifying other gods with the elements. With this agree Cicero's statements that Zeno 'calls the aether a god' (*N. D.* i. 14, 36), and that 'to Zeno and to the other Stoics in general the aether seems to be the supreme god' (*Acad.* ii. 41, 126).

Suggestive of the same idea as to Zeus is the statement of Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 21, 12, end) : '*Solem Iovis oculum appellat antiquitas,*' and Philodemus (*de pietate*, 22) gives instances, as follows (Gomperz filling the lacunas) :

'Euripides in the *Mysians* (see argument in Nauck) applies the epithet "sun-eyed" (ἡλιωπρός) to both Zeus and the Heaven, while Sophocles in the *Aegisthus* applies it to the Heaven alone, but in the *Oeneus* also to Zeus.'

In *O. T.* 704 f. Sophocles has the expression 'the ever seeing disk (κύκλος) of Zeus Μόρσις' ; and Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 285 f.) 'the unwearied eye of heaven,' which Suidas (s. δῆμα . . . σελαγεῖται) interprets as the sun.

Thus we may understand the common idea that Zeus sees all things, and so is called πανόπτης. Hesychius, however, defines this epithet by πολυόφθαλμος, on the authority of Achaeus (Urlichs's 'Αχαιοί for 'Αχαιοί). Either interpretation of πανόπτης is in harmony with the conception of Zeus as the sky.

This same Achaeus, in a fragment of the *Azanes* (fr. 2, 4, Kock), seems to have in mind the starry heaven, when he calls Zeus δαστέροπος (for δαστερωπός, *metri gratia*), 'the star-eyed.' Compare with this verses 1078 and 1079 of the *Ion* of Euripides :

'When even the star-eyed αἰθήρ of Zeus danced,' where again we have the phrase Διὸς αἰθήρ.

Many other epithets of Zeus, while applicable equally well to him as the ruler of Heaven, are very appropriate to the sky itself, as ὑψιβρεμέτης, κελαϊνεφής, etc., but need not be discussed here.

In conclusion I would mention the idea of Zeus as the source of rain, not merely the giver of it, seen in the familiar Ζεὺς ὕει, but more clearly in the phrase ὕδατα ἐκ Διὸς (where the force of the preposition should be noted), and the well-known fact that many of the oldest and most sacred cults of Zeus in Greece were



situated on mountain summits, doubtless in the desire to bring the holy place as near as possible to the divinity or his abode (see Aesch. *Niobe*, fr. 162).

The idea that Zeus is the *dēp*, of which a good number of instances are found, is closely akin to that we have considered, and doubtless in many cases no distinction between *alēp* and *dēp* was intended.

Adjourned at 4.20 P.M.

The next meeting of the Association will be held at Union University, Schenectady, N. Y., beginning Tuesday, July 8, 1902.



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ERRATUM: Vol. xxxi, p. 20, l. 1; for *lucus* read *mare*.



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ABBREVIATIONS: *AHR* = American Historical Review; *AJA* = American Journal of Archaeology; *AJP* = American Journal of Philology; *AJSL* = American Journal of Semitic Languages; *AJT* = American Journal of Theology; *Archiv* = Archiv für latein. Lexicographie; *Bookm.* = The Bookman; *CR* = Classical Review; *CSCP* = Cornell Studies in Classical Philology; *ER* = Educational Review; *HSCP* = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology; *HSPL* = Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature; *IF* = Indogermanische Forschungen; *JAOs* = Journal of the American Oriental Society; *JBL* = Journal of Biblical Literature; *JGP* = Journal of Germanic Philology; *JHUC* = Johns Hopkins University Circulars; *MLA* = Publications of the Modern Language Association; *MLN* = Modern Language Notes; *NW* = The New World; *PAPA* = Proceedings of the American Philological Association; *SR* = School Review; *TAPA* = Transactions of the American Philological Association; *UPB* = University of Pennsylvania Bulletin; *WRUB* = Western Reserve University Bulletin.

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<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to December 1, 1901; permanent addresses are given, as far as may be. Where the residence is left blank, the members in question are in Europe. The Secretary and the Publishers beg to be kept informed of all changes of address.



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- Prof. Sylvester Burnham, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1885.  
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 Prof. Frank Carter, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1897.  
 Pres. Franklin Carter, Camden, S. C. 1871.  
 Prof. Jesse Benedict Carter, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1898.  
 Prof. Mary Emily Case, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1895.  
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 Miss Eva Channing, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.  
 Prof. A. C. Chapin, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1888.  
 Prof. Henry Leland Chapman, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1892.  
 Prof. George Davis Chase, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1900.  
 Dr. George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (24 Grays Hall). 1899.  
 Prof. S. R. Cheek, Centre College of Kentucky, Danville, Ky. 1890.  
 Dr. Clarence G. Child, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (2312 De Lancey Place). 1897.  
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 Prof. Willard K. Clement, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Y. M. C. A. Building). 1892.  
 Prof. George Stuart Collins, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1897.  
 Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.  
 William T. Colville, Carbondale, Pa. 1884.  
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 Edward G. Coy, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1888.  
 Prof. W. H. Crogman, Clark University, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.  
 William L. Cushing, Westminster School, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. 1888.  
 Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, College Hill, Mass. 1899.  
 Prof. Walter Dennison, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1899.  
 Pres. George H. Denny, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va. 1897.  
 Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.  
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- Prof. Louis H. Dow, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1895.  
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Thomas H. Eckfeldt, Concord School, Concord, Mass. 1883.  
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Prof. Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1893.  
Prof. James C. Egbert, Jr., American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1889.  
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Prof. A. Marshall Elliott, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
Prof. W. A. Elliott, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1897.  
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Vernon J. Emery, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (63 Gorham St.). 1893.  
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Rev. Dr. W. E. Evans, Columbia, S. C. 1897.  
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Prof. Arthur Fairbanks, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1886.  
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Prof. Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1889.  
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Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.  
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- Frank A. Gallup, Colgate Academy, Hamilton, N. Y. 1898.  
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 Prof. Seth K. Gifford. 1891.  
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 Clarence Willard Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Roxbury, Mass. (6 Copeland St.). 1901.  
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 Prof. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. 1891.  
 Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (5 Follen St.). 1870.  
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 Prof. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Walker St.). 1894.  
 Prof. William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.  
 Prof. Arthur P. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1886.  
 Prof. F. A. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1896.  
 Prof. T. F. Hamblin, Bucknell University, Lewisburgh, Pa. 1895.  
 Prof. Adelbert Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.  
 Miss Clemence Hamilton, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1901.  
 Prof. William A. Hammond, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (29 East Ave.). 1897.  
 Principal John Calvin Hanna, High School, Oak Park, Ill. (209 South East Ave.). 1896.  
 Prof. Albert Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1869.  
 Prof. Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1896.  
 Pres. William R. Harper, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.  
 Prof. Karl P. Harrington, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1892.  
 Prof. W. A. Harris, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. 1895.  
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 Prof. J. E. Harry, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1896.  
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 Prof. Samuel Hart, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1871.  
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 Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
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 Rev. Dr. Henry H. Haynes, 1 Waterhouse St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.  
 Prof. F. M. Hazen, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1896.  
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- Prof. W. A. Heidel, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1900.  
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Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.  
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 Principal Augustine Jones, Friends' School, Providence, R. I. 1896.  
 Dr. Robert P. Keep, Free Academy, Norwich, Conn. 1872.  
 Dr. George Dwight Kellogg, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (307 Welch Hall). 1897.  
 Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1890.  
 Prof. John B. Kieffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1889.  
 Prof. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1898.  
 Chancellor J. H. Kirkland, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1887.  
 J. C. Kirtland, Jr., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.  
 Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Hilliard St.). 1884.  
 Dr. William H. Klapp, Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1324 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.  
 Dr. Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (1773 Sedgwick Ave.). 1892.  
 Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1889.  
 Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1890.  
 Prof. William A. Lamberton, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
 Prof. W. B. Langsdorf, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1895.  
 Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.  
 Lewis H. Lapham, 28 Ferry St., New York, N. Y. 1880.  
 Prof. C. W. Larned, U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y. 1880.  
 Prof. H. B. Lathrop, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.  
 Prof. William Cranston Lawton, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. (17 Clifton Pl.). 1888.  
 Prof. Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1888.  
 Dr. Arthur G. Leacock, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1899.  
 Dr. Emory B. Lease, College of the City of New York, N. Y. (121 West 64th St.). 1895.  
 Dr. J. T. Lees, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1888.  
 Prof. Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1880.  
 Prof. Henry F. Linscott, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1896.  
 Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.  
 Prof. O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1900.  
 Prof. George D. Lord, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1887.  
 D. O. S. Lowell, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. Frederick Lutz, Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1883.  
 Prof. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, State College of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. 1901.  
 Pres. George E. MacLean, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (603 College St.). 1891.



- Miss Grace H. Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.  
David Magie, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (33 Prospect Ave.). 1901.  
Prof. H. W. Magoun, Redfield College, Redfield, S. D. 1891.  
Prof. J. H. T. Main, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1891.  
Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1875.  
Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.  
Prof. F. A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1869.  
Prof. F. A. March, Jr., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1884.  
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.  
Prof. Winfred R. Martin, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1879.  
Miss Ellen F. Mason, 1 Walnut St., Boston, Mass. 1885.  
Dr. Maurice W. Mather, 13 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1890.  
Dr. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1901.  
Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.  
Prof. George F. McKibben, Denison University, Granville, O. 1885.  
Miss Harriet E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.  
Prof. H. Z. McLain, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1884.  
Prof. W. J. McMurtry, Yankton College, Yankton, S. D. 1893.  
Dr. John Moffatt Mecklin, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1900.  
James D. Meeker, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1897.  
Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, University of South Dakota, Vermilion, S. D. 1898.  
Prof. Elmer T. Merrill, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1883.  
Truman Michelson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (15 Hollis Hall). 1900.  
Prof. C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.  
Dr. Richard A. Minckwitz, Central High School, Kansas City, Mo. (P.O. Box 415). 1895.  
Charles A. Mitchell, Asheville School, Asheville, N. C. 1893.  
Prof. Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (34 Shepard St.). 1889.  
Prof. Frank G. Moore, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1888.  
Prof. George F. Moore, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1885.  
Prof. J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1887.  
Prof. Lewis B. Moore, Howard University, Washington, D. C. 1896.  
Paul E. More, *The Independent*, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1896.  
Prof. Edward Clark Morey, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1899.  
Prof. James H. Morgan, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1897.  
Prof. Morris H. Morgan, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (45 Garden St.). 1887.  
Prof. Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (53 Edgehill Road). 1886.  
Frederick S. Morrison, Public High School, Hartford, Conn. 1890.  
Prof. Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York, N. Y. (17 Lexington Ave.). 1898.  
Prof. George F. Mull, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1896.  
Prof. Wilfred P. Mustard, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1892.  
Prof. Francis Philip Nash, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1872.  
Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1900.



- Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.  
 Prof. Frank W. Nicolson, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1888.  
 Prof. George Norlin, Boulder, Col. 1900.  
 Prof. Richard Norton, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1897.  
 Charles James O'Connor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.  
 Dr. George N. Olcott, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1899.  
 Prof. Edward T. Owen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.  
 Prof. W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1875.  
 Prof. William A. Packard, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1872.  
 Prof. Arthur H. Palmer, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (42 Mansfield St.). 1885.  
 Dr. William F. Palmer, West View, Cuyahoga County, O. 1893.  
 Prof. Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1075 Massachusetts Ave.). 1884.  
 Prof. James M. Paton, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1887.  
 John Patterson, Louisville High School, Louisville, Ky. (1117 Fourth St.). 1900.  
 Dr. Charles Peabody, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. Harry Thurston Peck, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1887.  
 Prof. Tracy Peck, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1871.  
 Miss Frances Pellett, 37 North St., Binghamton, N. Y. 1893.  
 Prof. Charles W. Pepler, Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 1899.  
 Miss Alice J. G. Perkins, Schenectady, N. Y. 1899.  
 Prof. Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1892.  
 Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (136 Farnam Hall). 1879.  
 Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (133 East 55th St.). 1882.  
 Prof. William E. Peters, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1892.  
 Prof. John Pickard, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1893.  
 Dr. William Taggard Piper, 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1885.  
 Prof. Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1885.  
 Prof. William Carey Poland, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (53 Lloyd St.). 1872.  
 Prof. William Porter, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1888.  
 Prof. Edwin Post, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1886.  
 Prof. Franklin H. Potter, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1898.  
 Prof. L. S. Potwin, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (322 Rosedale Ave.). 1881.  
 Henry Preble, 42 Stuyvesant Place, New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y. 1882.  
 Prof. William K. Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.  
 Prof. Ferris W. Price, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1895.  
 Prof. Benjamin F. Prince, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1893.  
 Prof. John Dyneley Prince, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1899.  
 Prof. Robert S. Radford, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1900.



- M. M. Ramsey, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1894.  
Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.  
Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (213 Durfee Hall). 1884.  
Dr. Ernst Riess, De Witt Clinton High School, Manhattan, N. Y. 1895.  
Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.  
Dr. Arthur W. Roberts, Brookline High School, Brookline, Mass. 1884.  
Prof. W. A. Robinson, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. 1888.  
Joseph C. Rockwell, 61 Oxford St., Cambridge, Mass. 1896.  
Prof. F. E. Rockwood, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1885.  
Prof. John C. Rolfe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1416 Hill St.). 1890.  
Dr. Julius Sachs, Classical School, 38 West Fifty-ninth St., New York, N. Y. 1875.  
Benjamin H. Sanborn, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.  
Dr. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (633 Church St.). 1899.  
Prof. John A. Sanford, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1901.  
Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1894.  
Miss Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1900.  
Joseph H. Sawyer, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass. 1897.  
Prof. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O. 1882.  
Prof. J. J. Schlicher, State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind. 1901.  
Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1894.  
Edmund F. Schreiner, 486 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. 1900.  
Vice-Chanc. Henry A. Scomp, American Temperance University, Harriman, Tenn. 1897.  
Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa. 1880.  
Edmund D. Scott, Holyoke High School, P.O. Box 578, Holyoke, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (2110 Orrington Ave.). 1898.  
Miss Annie N. Scribner, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.  
Prof. Henry S. Scribner, Western University of Pennsylvania, Allegheny City, Pa. 1889.  
Jared W. Scudder, High School, Albany, N. Y. (117 Chestnut St.). 1897.  
Dr. Helen M. Seales, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1893.  
Charles D. Seely, State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y. 1888.  
Prof. William J. Seelye, Wooster University, Wooster, O. 1888.  
Dr. J. B. Sewall, 17 Blagden St., Boston, Mass. 1871.  
Prof. T. D. Seymour, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (34 Hillhouse Ave.). 1873.  
Prof. Charles H. Shannon, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. 1900.  
Prof. R. H. Sharp, Jr., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. (College Park P.O.). 1897.  
Prof. J. A. Shaw, Highland Military Academy, Worcester, Mass. 1876.  
Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Francis Ave.). 1881.  
Dr. F. W. Shipley, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill. 1900.  
Prof. Paul Shorey, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece. 1887.



- Dr. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.  
 Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1885.  
 Prof. E. G. Sihler, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1876.  
 Prof. M. S. Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1887.  
 Princ. M. C. Smart, Claremont, N. H. 1900.  
 Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1883.  
 Prof. Charles S. Smith, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. (2122 H St.). 1895.  
 Prof. Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (64 Sparks St.). 1882.  
 Prof. Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.  
 Prof. Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1885.  
 Prof. Kirby F. Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
 Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (91 Walker St.). 1886.  
 George C. S. Southworth, Salem, Col. Co., O. 1883.  
 Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
 Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (150 Montague St.). 1901.  
 Prof. Jonathan Y. Stanton, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1888.  
 Miss Josephine Stary, 31 West Sixty-first St., New York, N. Y. 1899.  
 Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1893.  
 Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (2 South Ave.). 1885.  
 Prof. F. H. Stoddard, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1890.  
 Dr. Duane Reed Stuart, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1901.  
 Dr. E. H. Sturtevant, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 1901.  
 Dr. Charles W. Super, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1881.  
 Dr. Marguerite Sweet, 13 Ten Bronck St., Albany, N. Y. 1892.  
 Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.  
 Prof. Julian D. Taylor, Colby University, Waterville, Me. 1890.  
 Prof. Glanville Terrell, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky. 1898.  
 Prof. William E. Thompson, Hamline University, Hamline, Minn. 1877.  
 Charles H. Thurber, 29 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1901.  
 Prof. Fitz Gerald Tisdall, College of the City of New York, N. Y. (80 Convent Ave.). 1889.  
 Prof. Henry A. Todd, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1887.  
 Prof. H. C. Tolman, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1889.  
 Prof. Edward M. Tomlinson, Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y. 1885.  
 Edward M. Traber, State Agricultural College, Fort Collins, Colo. 1896.  
 Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.  
 Prof. Milton H. Turk, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1896.  
 Prof. Esther Van Deman, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.  
 Addison Van Name, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (121 High St.). 1869.  
 Dr. W. H. Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.  
 Dr. John H. Walden, 13 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 1889.  
 Prof. Arthur T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1895.  
 Dr. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.



- Dr. Edwin G. Warner, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1897.  
Andrew McCorrie Warren, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., Founders' Court, London. 1892.  
Prof. Minton Warren, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (105 Irving St.). 1874.  
Dr. Winifred Warren, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1897.  
Dr. William E. Waters, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. (1161 Amsterdam Ave.). 1885.  
Prof. Helen L. Webster, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.  
Miss Mary C. Welles, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (33 Wall St.). 1898.  
Prof. Andrew F. West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1886.  
Prof. J. H. Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.  
Prof. J. B. Weston, Christian Biblical Institute, Stanfordville, N. Y. 1869.  
Prof. L. B. Wharton, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. 1888.  
Albert S. Wheeler, Sheffield Scientific School, New Haven, Conn. 1871.  
Prof. Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1899.  
Prof. James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.  
Prof. G. M. Whicher, Normal College, New York, N. Y. 1891.  
Prof. Frederic Earle Whitaker, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1900.  
Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road). 1886.  
Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Concord Ave.). 1874.  
Vice-Chanc. B. Lawton Wiggins, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1892.  
Prof. Alexander M. Wilcox, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1884.  
Prof. Henry D. Wild, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1898.  
Charles R. Williams, Indianapolis, Ind. 1887.  
Dr. George A. Williams, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1891.  
Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.  
Dr. Harry Langford Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1898.  
Dr. J. D. Wolcott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1898.  
Prof. E. L. Wood, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.  
Prof. Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
Willis Patten Woodman, 6 Greenough Ave., Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1901.  
Prof. Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1887.  
Prof. B. D. Woodward, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (462 West 22nd St.). 1891.  
Prof. Ellsworth D. Wright, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis. 1898.  
Prof. Henry P. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (128 York St.). 1883.  
Prof. John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (38 Quincy St.). 1874.  
Prof. Clarence H. Young, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (312 West 88th St.). 1890.  
Prof. R. B. Youngman, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1901.

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 Prof. Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington. 1887.  
 Prof. C. B. Bradley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2639 Durant Ave.). 1900.  
 Miss H. S. Brewer, Redlands, Cal. 1900.  
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 Valentine Buehner, High School, San Jose, Cal. 1900.  
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 Prof. Luella Clay Carson, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1900.  
 Martin Centner, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
 Samuel Chambers, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., State University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1901.  
 Prof. Edward B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1 Bushnell Pl.). 1886.  
 A. Horatio Cogswell, 2509 Parker St., Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
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 Dr. J. Elmore, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.  
 G. E. Faucheux, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
 Dr. W. S. Ferguson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1899.  
 Prof. Ewald Flügel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. P. J. Frein, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. John Fryer, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
 Dr. John Gamble, Haywards, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. Charles Mills Gayley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.  
 Charles Bertie Gleason, High School, San Jose, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. Julius Goebel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
 Walter H. Graves, 1220 Linden St., Oakland, Cal. 1900.  
 Miss Rebecca T. Greene, Salinas, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. James O. Griffin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1896.



- Edward Hohfeld, 14 Grove St., San Francisco, Cal. 1900.  
Miss Lily Hohfeld, Siskiyou Co. High School, Yreka, Cal. 1900.  
C. H. Howard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
M. C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Oliver M. Johnston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
Winthrop Leicester Keep, Mills College, Alameda Co., Cal. 1900.  
Tracy R. Kelley, 2214 Jones St., San Francisco, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Martin Kellogg, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1884.  
Prof. S. F. Lange, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
Rev. James O. Lincoln, San Mateo, Cal. 1900.  
Miss Alice Marchebout, Girls' High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Max L. Margolis, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1886.  
Prof. Walter Miller, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
Francis O. Mower, Napa High School, Napa, Cal. 1900.  
Edward J. Murphy, San Mateo, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Augustus T. Murray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.  
Carl H. Nielsen, Vacaville, Cal. 1900.  
Rabbi Jacob Nieto, 1719 Bush St., San Francisco, Cal. 1900.  
Dr. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2125 Cedar St.). 1900.  
Dr. Andrew Oliver, San Mateo, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. F. V. Paget, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Ernest M. Pease, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.  
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Prof. A. Putzker, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. S. B. Randall, California College, Oakland, Cal. 1900.  
Miss Cecilia L. Raymond, 2407 S. Atherton St., Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Karl G. Rendtorff, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
Miss Beatrice Reynolds, 3050 Kingsley St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.  
Prof. F. G. G. Schmidt, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1900.  
Prof. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
Principal Leigh Richmond Smith, Santa Clara High School, Santa Clara, Cal. 1896.  
C. M. Walker, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1900.  
President Benjamin I. Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1879.  
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ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS.

American School of Classical Studies, Athens.  
~~American~~ School of Classical Studies, Rome (Via Vicenza 5).  
British Museum, London.  
Royal Asiatic Society, London.  
Philological Society, London.  
Society of Biblical Archæology, London.  
Indian Office Library, London.  
Bodleian Library, Oxford.  
University Library, Cambridge, England.  
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Scotland.  
Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland.  
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.  
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.  
Japan Asiatic Society, Yokohama.  
Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.  
Sir George Grey's Library, Cape Town, Africa.  
Reykjavik College Library, Iceland.  
University of Christiania, Norway.  
University of Upsala, Sweden.  
Stadsbiblioteket, Göteborg, Sweden.  
Russian Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg.  
Austrian Imperial Academy, Vienna.  
Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.



Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Italy.  
 Reale Accademia delle Scienze, Turin.  
 Société Asiatique, Paris, France.  
 Athénée Oriental, Louvain, Belgium.  
 Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.  
 Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.  
 Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin, Germany.  
 Royal Saxon Academy of Sciences, Leipsic.  
 Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.  
 Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.  
 Library of the University of Bonn.  
 Library of the University of Freiburg in Baden.  
 Library of the University of Giessen.  
 Library of the University of Jena.  
 Library of the University of Königsberg.  
 Library of the University of Leipsic.  
 Library of the University of Toulouse.  
 Library of the University of Tübingen.  
 Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople.  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

[Number of foreign institutions, 43.]

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TO THE FOLLOWING FOREIGN JOURNALS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE ANNUALLY  
SENT, GRATIS.

Athenæum, London.  
 Classical Review, London.  
 Revue Critique, Paris.  
 Revue de Philologie (Adrien Krebs, 11 Rue de Lille, Paris).  
 Société de Linguistique, à la Sorbonne, Paris.  
 Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.  
 Deutsche Literaturzeitung, Berlin.  
 Indogermanische Forschungen (K. J. Trübner, Strassburg).  
 Literarisches Centralblatt, Leipsic.  
 Musée Belge (Prof. Waltzing, 9 Rue du Parc, Liège, Belgium).  
 Neue Philologische Rundschau, Gotha (F. A. Perthes).  
 Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin.  
 Rivista di Filologia, Turin (Ermanno Loescher).  
 Direzione del Bolletino di Filologia Classica, Via Vittorio Amadeo ii, Turin.  
 Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien (Prof. J. Golling, Maximilians Gymnasium,  
 Vienna).  
 Université Catholique (Prof. A. Lepitre, 10 Avenue de Noailles, Lyons).

[Total (545 + 61 + 43 + 1 + 16) = 666.]



**CONSTITUTION**  
**OF THE**  
**AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.**

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**ARTICLE I. — NAME AND OBJECT.**

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

**ARTICLE II. — OFFICERS.**

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

**ARTICLE III. — MEETINGS.**

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

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## ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

## ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

## ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.



## PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

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THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the volumes of Transactions thus far published : —

### 1869-1870. — Volume I.

- Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.  
Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.  
Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with *ἔστω* and *οὐ μὴ*.  
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the best method of studying the North American languages.  
Haldeman, S. S.: On the German vernacular of Pennsylvania.  
Whitney, W. D.: On the present condition of the question as to the origin of language.  
Lounsbury, T. R.: On certain forms of the English verb which were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.  
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On some mistaken notions of Algonkin grammar, and on mistranslations of words from Eliot's Bible, etc.  
Van Name, A.: Contributions to Creole Grammar.  
Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869), and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

### 1871. — Volume II.

- Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.  
Allen, F. D.: On the so-called Attic second declension.  
Whitney, W. D.: Strictures on the views of August Schleicher respecting the nature of language and kindred subjects.  
Hadley, J.: On English vowel quantity in the thirteenth century and in the nineteenth.  
March, F. A.: Anglo-Saxon and Early English pronunciation.  
Bristed, C. A.: Some notes on Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.



Trumbull, J. Hammond: On Algonkin names for man.

Greenough, J. B.: On some forms of conditional sentences in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Proceedings of the third annual session, New Haven, 1871.

### 1872. — Volume III.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Words derived from Indian languages of North America.

Hadley, J.: On the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the tenth century, as illustrated by a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Stevens, W. A.: On the substantive use of the Greek participle.

Bristed, C. A.: Erroneous and doubtful uses of the word *such*.

Hartt, C. F.: Notes on the Lingoa Geral, or Modern Tupi of the Amazonas.

Whitney, W. D.: On material and form in language.

March, F. A.: Is there an Anglo-Saxon language?

March, F. A.: On some irregular verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin languages.

Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

### 1873. — Volume IV.

Allen, F. D.: The Epic forms of verbs in *dæ*.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Hadley, J.: On Koch's treatment of the Celtic element in English.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the pronunciation of Latin, as presented in several recent grammars.

Packard, L. R.: On some points in the life of Thucydides.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the classification of conditional sentences in Greek syntax.

March, F. A.: Recent discussions of Grimm's law.

Lull, E. P.: Vocabulary of the language of the Indians of San Blas and Caladonia Bay, Darien.

Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

### 1874. — Volume V.

Tyler, W. S.: On the prepositions in the Homeric poems.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English vowel-mutation, present in *cag*, *keg*.

Packard, L. R.: On a passage in Homer's *Odyssey* (λ 81-86).

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On numerals in American Indian languages, and the Indian mode of counting.

Sewall, J. B.: On the distinction between the subjunctive and optatives modes in Greek conditional sentences.

Morris, C. D.: On the age of Xenophon at the time of the *Anabasis*.

Whitney, W. D.: *φύσει* or *θείσει* — natural or conventional?

Proceedings of the sixth annual session, Hartford, 1874.



**1875. — Volume VI**

- Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.  
Haldeman, S. S.: On an English consonant-mutation, present in *proof*, *prove*.  
Carter, F.: On Begemann's views as to the weak preterit of the Germanic verbs.  
Morris, C. D.: On some forms of Greek conditional sentences.  
Williams, A.: On verb-reduplication as a means of expressing completed action.  
Sherman, L. A.: A grammatical analysis of the Old English poem "The Owl and the Nightingale."

Proceedings of the seventh annual session, Newport, 1875.

**1876. — Volume VII**

- Gildersleeve, B. L.: On *ei* with the future indicative and *ed* with the subjunctive in the tragic poets.  
Packard, L. R.: On Grote's theory of the structure of the Iliad.  
Humphreys, M. W.: On negative commands in Greek.  
Toy, C. H.: On Hebrew verb-etymology.  
Whitney, W. D.: A botanico-philological problem.  
Goodwin, W. W.: On *shall* and *should* in protasis, and their Greek equivalents.  
Humphreys, M. W.: On certain influences of accent in Latin iambic trimeters.  
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the Algonkin verb.  
Haldeman, S. S.: On a supposed mutation between *l* and *u*.  
Proceedings of the eighth annual session, New York, 1876.

**1877. — Volume VIII**

- Packard, L. R.: Notes on certain passages in the Phaedo and the Gorgias of Plato.  
Toy, C. H.: On the nominal basis on the Hebrew verb.  
Allen, F. D.: On a certain apparently pleonastic use of *ds*.  
Whitney, W. D.: On the relation of surd and sonant.  
Holden, E. S.: On the vocabularies of children under two years of age.  
Goodwin, W. W.: On the text and interpretation of certain passages in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus.  
Stickney, A.: On the single case-form in Italian.  
Carter, F.: On Willmann's theory of the authorship of the Nibelungenlied.  
Sihler, E. G.: On Herodotus's and Aeschylus's accounts of the battle of Salamis.  
Whitney, W. D.: On the principle of economy as a phonetic force.  
Carter, F.: On the Kurenberg hypothesis.  
March, F. A.: On dissimilated gemination.  
Proceedings of the ninth annual session, Baltimore, 1877.

**1878. — Volume IX**

- Gildersleeve, B. L.: Contributions to the history of the articular infinitive.  
Toy, C. H.: The Yoruban language.  
Humphreys, M. W.: Influence of accent in Latin dactylic hexameters.  
Sachs, J.: Observations on Plato's Cratylus.



Seymour, T. D.: On the composition of the *Cynegeticus* of Xenophon.

Humphreys, M. W.: Elision, especially in Greek.

Proceedings of the tenth annual session, Saratoga, 1878.

#### 1879. — Volume X.

Toy, C. H.: Modal development of the Semitic verb.

Humphreys, M. W.: On the nature of caesura.

Humphreys, M. W.: On certain effects of elision.

Cook, A. S.: Studies in Heliand.

Harkness, A.: On the development of the Latin subjunctive in principal clauses.

D'Ooge, M. L.: The original recension of the *De Corona*.

Peck, T.: The authorship of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*.

Seymour, T. D.: On the date of the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus.

Proceedings of the eleventh annual session, Newport, 1879.

#### 1880. — Volume XI.

Humphreys, M. W.: A contribution to infantile linguistic.

Toy, C. H.: The Hebrew verb-termination *uu*.

Packard, L. R.: The beginning of a written literature in Greece.

Hall, I. H.: The declension of the definite article in the Cypriote inscriptions.

Sachs, J.: Observations on Lucian.

Sihler, E. G.: Virgil and Plato.

Allen, W. F.: The battle of Mons Graupius.

Whitney, W. D.: On inconsistency in views of language.

Edgren, A. H.: The kindred Germanic words of German and English, exhibited with reference to their consonant relations.

Proceedings of the twelfth annual session, Philadelphia, 1880.

#### 1881. — Volume XII.

Whitney, W. D.: On Mixture in Language.

Toy, C. H.: The home of the primitive Semitic race.

March, F. A.: Report of the committee on the reform of English spelling.

Wells, B. W.: History of the *a*-vowel, from Old Germanic to Modern English.

Seymour, T. D.: The use of the aorist participle in Greek.

Sihler, E. G.: The use of abstract verbal nouns in *-σις* in Thucydides.

Proceedings of the thirteenth annual session, Cleveland, 1881.

#### 1882. — Volume XIII.

Hall, I. H.: The Greek New Testament as published in America.

Merriam, A. C.: Alien intrusion between article and noun in Greek.

Peck, T.: Notes on Latin quantity.

Owen, W. B.: Influence of the Latin syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.

Wells, B. W.: The Ablaut in English.

Whitney, W. D.: General considerations on the Indo-European case-system.

Proceedings of the fourteenth annual session, Cambridge, 1882.



**1883. — Volume XIV.**

- Merriam, A. C. : The Caesareum and the worship of Augustus at Alexandria.  
Whitney, W. D. : The varieties of predication.  
Smith, C. F. : On Southernisms.  
Wells, B. W. : The development of the Ablaut in Germanic.  
Proceedings of the fifteenth annual session, Middletown, 1883.

**1884. — Volume XV.**

- Goodell, T. D. : On the use of the Genitive in Sophokles.  
Tarbell, F. B. : Greek ideas as to the effect of burial on the future life of the soul.  
Perrin, B. : The Crastinus episode at Palaepharsalus.  
Peck, T. : Alliteration in Latin.  
Von Jagemann, H. C. G. : Norman words in English.  
Wells, B. W. : The Ablaut in High German.  
Whitney, W. D. : Primary and Secondary Suffixes of Derivation and their exchanges.  
Warren, M. : On Latin Glossaries. Codex Sangallensis, No. 912.  
Proceedings of the sixteenth annual session, Hanover, 1884.

**1885. — Volume XVI.**

- Easton, M. W. : The genealogy of words.  
Goodell, T. D. : Quantity in English verse.  
Goodwin, W. W. : Value of the Attic talent in modern money.  
Goodwin, W. W. : Relation of the *Πρόεδροι* to the *Πρωταγῶνεις* in the Attic *Βουλή*.  
Perrin, B. : Equestrianism in the Doloneia.  
Richardson, R. B. : The appeal to sight in Greek tragedy.  
Seymour, T. D. : The feminine caesura in Homer.  
Sihler, E. G. : A study of Dinarchus.  
Wells, B. W. : The vowels *e* and *i* in English.  
Whitney, W. D. : The roots of the Sanskrit language.  
Proceedings of the seventeenth annual session, New Haven, 1885.

**1886. — Volume XVII.**

- Tarbell, F. B. : Phonetic law.  
Sachs, J. : Notes on Homeric Zoölogy.  
Fowler, H. N. : The sources of Seneca de Beneficiis.  
Smith, C. F. : On Southernisms.  
Wells, B. W. : The sounds *o* and *u* in English.  
Fairbanks, A. : The Dative case in Sophokles.  
The Philological Society, of England, and The American Philological Association : Joint List of Amended Spellings.  
Proceedings of the eighteenth annual session, Ithaca, 1886.



**1887. — Volume XVIII.**

- Allen, W. F.: The monetary crisis in Rome, A.D. 33.  
 Sihler, E. G.: The tradition of Caesar's Gallic Wars, from Cicero to Orosius.  
 Clapp, E. B.: Conditional sentences in Aischylos.  
 Pease, E. M.: On the relative value of the manuscripts of Terence.  
 Smyth, H. W.: The Arcado-Cyprian dialect.  
 Wells, B. W.: The sounds *o* and *u* in English.  
 Smyth, H. W.: The Arcado-Cyprian dialect. — *Addenda*.  
 Proceedings of the nineteenth annual session, Burlington, 1887.

**1888. — Volume XIX.**

- Allen, W. F.: The *Lex Curiata de Imperio*.  
 Goebel, J.: On the impersonal verbs.  
 Bridge, J.: On the authorship of the Cynicus of Lucian.  
 Whitney, J. E.: The "Continued Allegory" in the first book of the *Fairy Queen*.  
 March, F. A.: Standard English: its pronunciation, how learned.  
 Brewer, F. P.: Register of new words.  
 Proceedings of the twentieth annual session, Amherst, 1888.

**1889. — Volume XX.**

- Smyth, H. W.: The vowel system of the Ionic dialect.  
 Gudeman, A.: A new source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero.  
 Gatschet, A. S.: Sex-denoting nouns in American languages.  
 Cook, A. S.: Metrical observations on a Northumbrianized version of the Old English Judith.  
 Cook, A. S.: Stressed vowels in Ælfric's Homilies.  
 Proceedings of the twenty-first annual session, Easton, 1889.  
 Index of authors, and index of subjects, Vols. I.-XX.

**1890. — Volume XXI.**

- Goodell, T. D.: The order of words in Greek.  
 Hunt, W. I.: Homeric wit and humor.  
 Leighton, R. F.: The Medicean Mss. of Cicero's letters.  
 Whitney, W. D.: Translation of the *Kaṭha Upanishad*.  
 Proceedings of the twenty-second annual session, Norwich, 1890.

**1891. — Volume XXII.**

- Capps, Edw.: The Greek Stage according to the Extant Dramas.  
 Clapp, Edw. B.: Conditional Sentences in the Greek Tragedians.  
 West, A. F.: Lexicographical Gleanings from the *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury.  
 Hale, W. G.: The Mode in the phrases *quod sciam*, etc.  
 Proceedings of the twenty-third annual session, Princeton, 1891.



**1892. — Volume XXIII.**

Whitney, W. D.: On the narrative use of imperfect and perfect in the Brāhmaṇas  
Muss-Arnolt, W.: On Semitic words in Greek and Latin.

Humphreys, M. W.: On the equivalence of rhythmical bars and metrical feet.

Scott, Charles P. G.: English words which have gained or lost an initial consonant by attraction.

Proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual session, Charlottesville, 1892.

**1893. — Volume XXIV.**

Sonnenschein, E. A.: The scientific emendation of classical texts.

Bréal, M.: The canons of etymological investigation.

Streitberg, W.: Ein Ablautproblem der Ursprache.

Osthoff, H.: Dunkles und helles / im Lateinischen.

Shorey, Paul: The implicit ethics and psychology of Thucydides.

Scott, C. P. G.: English words which have gained or lost an initial consonant by attraction (second paper).

Hale, W. G.: "Extended" and "remote" deliberatives in Greek.

Proceedings of the twenty-fifth annual session, Chicago, 1893.

**1894. — Volume XXV.**

Knapp, Charles: Notes on the prepositions in Gellius.

Moore, F. G.: On *urbs aeterna* and *urbs sacra*.

Smith, Charles Forster: Some poetical constructions in Thucydides.

Scott, C. P. G.: English words which have gained or lost an initial consonant by attraction (third paper).

Gudeman, Alfred: Literary forgeries among the Romans.

Proceedings of the twenty-sixth annual session, Williamstown, 1894.

**1895. — Volume XXVI.**

Bloomfield, M.: On Professor Streitberg's theory as to the origin of certain Indo-European long vowels.

Warren, M.: On the contribution of the Latin inscriptions to the study of the Latin language and literature.

Paton, James M.: Some Spartan families under the Empire.

Riess, Ernst: On ancient superstition.

Perrin, B.: Genesis and growth of an Alexander-myth.

Slaughter, M. S.: The *Acta Ludorum* and the *Carmen Saeculare*.

Scott, C. P. G.: The Devil and his imps: an etymological inquisition.

March, F. A.: The fluency of Shakespeare.

Proceedings of the special session, Philadelphia, 1894.

Proceedings of the twenty-seventh annual session, Cleveland, 1895.

**1896. — Volume XXVII.**

Riess, E.: Superstition and popular beliefs in Greek tragedy.

Harkness, Albert Granger: Age at marriage and at death in the Roman Empire.



Allinson, F. G. : On the accent of certain enclitic combinations in Greek.

Wright, John H. : The origin of sigma lunatum.

Proceedings of the twenty-eighth annual session, Providence, 1896.

**1897. — Volume XXVIII.**

Brownson, C. L. : Reasons for Plato's hostility to the poets.

Sihler, E. G. : Lucretius and Cicero.

Bloomfield, M. : Indo-European notes.

Peck, Tracy : Cicero's hexameters.

Fairbanks, Arthur : On Plutarch's quotations from the early Greek philosophers.

March, F. A. : The enlargement of the English dictionary.

Collitz, H. : Traces of Indo-European accentuation in Latin.

Smyth, H. W. : Mute and liquid in Greek melic poetry.

Proceedings of the twenty-ninth annual session, Bryn Mawr, 1897.

**1898. — Volume XXIX.**

Fay, E. W. : The origin of the gerundive.

Hempl, G. : Language-rivalry and speech-differentiation in the case of race-mixture.

Harry, J. E. : The omission of the article with substantives after *οὗτος, ὁδε, ἐκεῖνος* in prose.

Ebeling, H. L. : The Admetus of Euripides viewed in relation to the Admetus of tradition.

Smyth, H. W. : Mute and liquid in Greek melic poetry (II.).

March, F. A. : Orthography of English preterits.

Wolcott, J. D. : New words in Thucydides.

Proceedings of the thirtieth annual session, Hartford, 1898.

**1899. — Volume XXX.**

Fairclough, H. R. : The text of the Andria of Terence.

Wheeler, A. L. : The uses of the Imperfect Indicative in Plautus and Terence.

Hempl, G. : The origin of the Latin letters G and Z, with Appendix, on the *cocculodorieso* of the Salian hymn.

Johnson, C. W. L. : The motion of the voice in the theory of ancient music.

Harkness, A. G. : The scepticism and fatalism of the common people of Rome as illustrated by the sepulchral inscriptions.

Bates, W. N. : The Lenaea, the Anthesteria, and the temple *ἐν Ἀλμυραῖς*.

Bates, F. O. : The Deme Kolonos.

Ferguson, W. S. : Some notes on the Archons of the third century.

Proceedings of the thirty-first annual session, New York, 1899.

**1900. — Volume XXXI.**

Rolfe, J. C. : The formation of substantives from Latin geographical adjectives by ellipsis.

Bonner, Campbell : The Danaid-myth.

Fowler, H. N. : Pliny, Pausanias, and the *Hermes* of Praxiteles.

Showerman, Grant : Was Attis at Rome under the Republic?



- Carter, J. B.: The cognomina of the goddess Fortuna.  
Smith, C. F.: Traces of Epic usage in Thucydides.  
Seymour, T. D.: Notes on Homeric war.  
Gudeman, A.: The sources of the *Germania* of Tacitus.  
Capps, E.: Studies in Greek agonistic inscriptions.  
Hale, W. G.: Is there still a Latin potential?  
Heidel, W. A.: On Plato's *Euthyphro*.  
Hempl, G.: The Salian hymn to Janus.  
Chase, G. D.: Sun myths in Lithuanian folksongs.  
Wilson, H. L.: The use of the simple for the compound verb in Juvenal.  
Bennett, C. E.: The stipulative subjunctive in Latin.  
Proceedings of the thirty-second annual session, Madison, 1900.

**1901. — Volume XXXII.**

- Wheeler, B. I.: The causes of uniformity in phonetic change.  
Clapp, E. B.: Pindar's accusative constructions.  
Merrill, E. T.: Some observations on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.  
Harry, J. E.: A misunderstood passage in Aeschylus (*Prom.* 119).  
Franklin, S. B.: Public appropriations for individual offerings and sacrifices in Greece.  
Morgan, M. H.: Rain-gods and rain-charms.  
Warren, M.: Some ancient and modern etymologies.  
Adams, C. D.: The Harpalos case.  
Steele, R. B.: Anaphora and Chiasmus in Livy.  
Hempl, G.: The variant runes on the Franks casket.  
Bill, C. P.: Notes on the Greek *Θεωρός* and *Θεωρία*.  
Elmer, H. C.: On the subjunctive with *Forsitan*.  
Proceedings of the special session, Philadelphia, 1900.  
Proceedings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1900.  
Proceedings of the thirty-third annual session, Cambridge, 1901.

The Proceedings of the American Philological Association are distributed gratis upon application to the Secretary or to the Publishers until they are out of print.

Fifty separate copies of articles printed in the Transactions, ten of articles printed in the Proceedings, are given to the authors for distribution. Additional copies will be furnished at cost.

The "Transactions *for*" any given year are not always published in that year. To avoid mistakes in ordering back volumes, please state — not the year of publication, but rather — the year *for* which the Transactions are desired, adding also the volume-number, according to the following table : —



The Transactions for 1869 and 1870 form Vol. I.					The Trans. for 1886 form Vol. XVII.				
The Trans. for 1871 " " II.					" "	1887	" "	XVIII.	
" "	1872	" "	III.		" "	1888	" "	XIX.	
" "	1873	" "	IV.		" "	1889	" "	XX.	
" "	1874	" "	V.		" "	1890	" "	XXI.	
" "	1875	" "	VI.		" "	1891	" "	XXII.	
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" "	1879	" "	X.		" "	1895	" "	XXVI.	
" "	1880	" "	XI.		" "	1896	" "	XXVII.	
" "	1881	" "	XII.		" "	1897	" "	XXVIII.	
" "	1882	" "	XIII.		" "	1898	" "	XXIX.	
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